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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

(THE)
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
111 (AND
(JOURNAL
OF THE
(NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.)

EDITED BY

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AND

EDWARD J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

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SESSION 1899—1900.

OCTOBER 19, 1899.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

Charles Bennet Lawes, Esq., was elected a Member.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the
table :—

1. American Journal of Archæology. Ser. II. Vol. ii,
No. 6, and Vol. iii, Nos. 1—3.

2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
Nos. 190—193.

3. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal.
Vol. i. No. 4.

4. Guide pratique de l'Antiquaire. By A. Blanchet and F.
de Villenoisy. From the Authors.

5. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Vol. viii, 2^{me} liv.,
and Vol. ix, 1^{re} liv.

6. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Bind xiii,
Heft 4, and Bind xiv, Heft 1—2.

7. *Nouvelle Encyclopédie Monétaire*, by A. Bonneville; *Monnaies féodales de France*, by F. Poey D'Avant; *Deutsche Münzen*, by H. Dannenberg, Vols. i—iv; *Schweizerische Münz-und-Geldgeschichte*, by A. Eschar; *Numismatique Soissonnaise*, by A. Michaut; and *Luther's Andenken in Jubel-Münzen*, by H. G. Kreussler. From Sir John Evans, K.C.B., the President.

8. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. v. No. 2.

9. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. xix. Part I.

10. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Mai—Sept., 1899.

11. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. Band xxi. Heft 3 and 4.

12. *Numismatische Zeitschrift*. Jan.—Jun., 1899.

13. *Revue Numismatique*. 2^{me} and 3^{me} trimestre, 1899.

14. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1894—1898.

15. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 3^{me} and 4^{me} liv., 1899.

16. *Transactions of the Japan Society of London*. Vol. iv.

17. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archæological Society*, 1899.

18. *Médailles gravées par des Artistes d'origine Suisse*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

19. *Quelques Variétés inédites de Grand-Bronzes romaines*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

20. *Monnaies romaines inédites*. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

21. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. 2, 1899.

22. *Il Ripostiglio di Abbiategrasso*. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.

23. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. ix. Part II.

24. *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1898.

25. *Report of the Madras Government Museum*, 1898—1899.

26. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2^{me} trimestre, 1899.

27. Trois Deniers Liégeois de la seconde moitié du XII^{me} siècle. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

28. Les Monnaies frappées à Maestricht sous Philippe IV (1621—1665). By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

29. The Imperial Coinage of Mexico. By Benj. Betts. From the Author.

30. Les Liards de France. By Paul Bordeaux. From the Author.

31. L'Imitation des types monétaires Flamands au Moyen-Age. By R. Serrure. From the Author.

32. Medal in bronze commemorating the 60th year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. From the Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a series of Irish groats of Mary and Philip, dated 1553, 1555, 1556, and 1557. As Mary's marriage to Philip did not take place till July, 1554, the date 1553 must be a blunder. Mr. Hoblyn also showed a medal of Charles II, commemorating his departure from Scheveningen in 1660. This medal, which was the work of Pieter van Abeele, was made into a box, containing two medalets of Charles II, one commemorating his restoration, the other his marriage.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited some rare pennies of Æthelwulf and Alfred.

Mr. C. E. Simpson exhibited an unpublished half-groat of Aberystwith, struck during the reign of Charles I.

Mr. J. Young showed two Aquitaine *gros* of Edward III, reading "Dominus Hiberniæ" instead of *Dominus Aquitaniæ*.

Mr. W. Webster exhibited a penny of Eadred, struck at Axminster, being an unpublished mint of that reign.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper on the coinage of the high-priests of Olba and of the districts of Cennatis and Lalassis. It appears from the coins that Ajax, the Toparch of Cennatis

and Lalassis, ruled from 10-11 to 14-15 A.D., and that M. Antonius Polemo, high-priest of Olba and dynast of the same districts, is to be placed some time between 17 and 36 A.D. Professor Ramsay's identification of this Polemo with the eldest son of Polemo I Eusebes and Pythodoris (mentioned, but not named, by Strabo) is supported by all the evidence, numismatic and historical. This paper is printed in Vol. xix., p. 181.

NOVEMBER 16, 1899.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Charles J. P. Cave, Esq., Reuben Cull, Esq., and Francis Bertram Welch, Esq., were elected Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins. By G. F. Hill, M.A. From the Author.

2. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. ii. No. 1.

3. The Vettian Picture. By E. J. Seltman and J. N. Svoronos. From the Authors.

4. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 195.

5. Travaux de la Société Numismatique de Moscow. Vol. i. and Vol. ii. 1^{re} liv.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited some rare coins of the Irish series, amongst which were the base groat of Mary, the Kilkenny halfpenny and farthing, the Dublin halfpenny of 1679, the white-metal groat of James II, and "Voce Populi" farthings.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed an Irish double of Edward IV, and a groat of Richard III of his first coinage; both pieces being of the Drogheda mint.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a series of pennies of Edward the Confessor, of the small cross and pyramid type; the bust of the king showing considerable variety, and in one case being turned to the left instead of to the right.

Sir Hermann Weber, M.D., read a paper on recent finds of archaic Greek coins in Lower Egypt, more particularly in reference to one made at Sakha in the Fayum. The coins from this last hoard were all of the sixth century B.C., and came from various parts of the Greek world. The author drew attention to the similarity of this and previous finds in Egypt, and suggested that their importation must have taken place about the period of the Persian invasion (B.C. 525). This paper is printed in Vol. xix, p. 269.

Mr. F. J. Haverfield communicated an account of a hoard of Roman coins found at Carhayes in Cornwall in 1869. The hoard consisted entirely of base antoniniani, some 2,100 in number, which extended from the reign of Valerian to that of Probus (A.D. 253-282). The reigns most fully represented were those of Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus sen., Tetricus jun., and Claudius Gothicus.

DECEMBER 21, 1899.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

William Gowland, Esq., F.S.A., was elected a Member; and M. Edmond Drouin of Paris, Dr. Ettore Gabrici of Naples, and Prof. Dr. Behrendt Pick of Gotha, were elected Honorary Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Les Trésors de Monnaies Romaines.* By A. Blanchet.
From the Author.

2. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica.* Fasc. III., 1899.

3. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.* Vol. v. No. 3.

4. *Bonner Jahrbücher.* Heft 104.

5. *Priester-Diademe.* By G. F. Hill. From the Author.

6. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.*
No. 196.

7. *Journal of Hellenic Studies.* Vol. xix. Part II.

8. *La Gazette Numismatique.* 4^{me} année. No. 2.

9. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.* Bind xiv,
Heft 3.

10. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.*
Vol. ix. Part III.

11. *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg.* Vols. xlv, xlvii, and xlix.

12. *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique,* Tomes 35—37; and *Tables Générales,* Tomes 1—30; and the *Annuaire* from 1898—1899.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed some silver coins of Edward V and Richard III, and pointed out that, whereas all the peculiarities found on the coins of Edward V were to be found also on those of Richard III, none of them occurred on coins hitherto assigned to Edward IV.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a shilling of President Kruger.

Mr. T. Bearman exhibited a pattern noble of Charles I (Scotland), from the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen's collection, supposed by Burns to be unique.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn showed pattern groats of Mary, wife of William III.

Mr. A. A. Banes exhibited a shilling of the first issue of George IV, 1820.

The President exhibited a Paduan medal, probably by Giovanni Cavino, found in the neighbourhood of Hemel Hempstead, having an obverse of Didius Julianus (193 A.D.) and a reverse

copied from the decadrachms of Syracuse (*circa* 400 B.C.), and also a head of Medusa in onyx, found in the Tiber about twenty years ago.

Mr. E. J. Seltman communicated a paper "On Nummi Serrati and Astral Coin-Types," in which he discussed the theories which have been held to explain the issue of the various ancient coinages having serrated edges. Among these theories was one held by M. Svoronos, who supposed that these coins were intended by their shape to symbolise solar or other celestial bodies. Mr. Seltman did not accept this theory, and incidentally discussed its application by M. Svoronos to the explanation of many Greek coin-types. This paper is printed in Vol. xix, p. 322.

JANUARY 18, 1900.

H. A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue Numismatique*. 4^{me} trimestre, 1899.
2. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Oct.—Dec., 1899.
3. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 1^{re} liv., 1900.
4. The Numismatic Circular for 1899. From Messrs. Spink and Sons.

5. *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*. By H. A. Grueber. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a series of groats, pennies, &c., of the Irish coinage of Edward IV extending from 1461 to 1470, during which period there were six distinct issues.

Mr. W. C. Boyd showed some unpublished varieties of pennies of Burgred, Eadgar, and Harthacnut.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a crown in gold of Edward VI having the mint-mark a swan, the special mark of Sir Martin Bowes, and an angel of Charles I with the triangle mint-mark, both hitherto unpublished.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited some contemporary forgeries of coins of Charles I, the Commonwealth, and Charles II.

Mr. John Pinches exhibited a medal of the late Professor Sylvester, struck as a mathematical prize medal by the Royal Society.

Mr. W. J. Andrew communicated the introductory portion of a monograph on the coinage of Henry I. After viewing generally the state of the coinage at the period of the Norman Conquest, and the proportionate value of commodities as represented by Norman money and by money of the present time, the writer discussed the succession of the types of the coinage, the constitution of the mints, the manufacture of the dies, and the status of the moneyers. As regards the constitution of the mints, Mr. Andrew was of opinion that not only were there royal mints and mints of the bishops, abbots, &c., but that the right of coinage was also granted to the greater ealdormen, who, however, only exercised this privilege when residing in their lordships, within the limits of which the mints were situated. This would, in many instances, account for the long intervals which occurred between the issues of many of the lesser mints. In the case of the moneyers, Mr. Andrew held that at first they were probably the actual engravers of the dies for the coins, but that after the tenth century, when the control of the coinage was centralised, they then became officers responsible only for the proper standard of the money both as regards its purity and weight.

FEBRUARY 15, 1900.

OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., Librarian, in
the Chair.

Lionel M. Hewlett, Esq., and H. Neville S. Langton, Esq.,
were elected Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxii. Heft 1—3.
2. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Vol. xii. Fasc. 4.
3. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 197 and 198.
4. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Liv. 192.
5. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1899.
6. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. ix. Part 4.

7. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution. Jan. 1897.

Mr. W. J. Hocking exhibited a specimen of the Canada General Service medal, which has been awarded to those who took part in repelling the Fenian raids on the Canadian frontier in 1866 and 1870, or were engaged in the Red River Expedition in 1870. It carries three separate bars, one for each of the above events.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited some rare Irish coins of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed some groats of Edward III and IV with unusual minor peculiarities, and a London penny of the latter bearing the mint-mark a mascle.

Captain R. J. H. Douglas exhibited a rare penny of William I struck at Taunton.

Mr. W. J. Andrew continued his account of the coinage of Henry I, the first portion of which he had communicated to the Society at its previous meeting. Having analysed the contents of the various finds of coins of Henry I which had occurred during the past hundred years, he proceeded to describe in detail the chronological sequence of the different types, each of which marked a distinct issue. The classification was based on the evidence afforded by the finds in question, on the changes in the forms of the letters in the legends from Roman to

Lombardic, on the various spellings of the king's name, and on a mass of historical evidence, gleaned chiefly from contemporary writers and chronicles. One of the results of Mr. Andrew's studies has been that he proposes considerable modifications in the succession of the types as suggested by Hawkins, whose views have been hitherto mainly adopted by English numismatists.

MARCH 15, 1900.

OLIVER CODRINGTON, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A., Librarian, in
the Chair.

Frederick W. Lincoln, Esq., Jun., the Rev. Robert Scott Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., and the Rev. Jeremiah Zimmerman, D.D., were elected Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 199.

2. Le Medaglie di Alessandro Volta. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.

3 Les Monnaies d'Or de Tarente. By Michel P. Vlasto. From the Author.

4. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. iii. No. 6.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited some groats and a half-groat of Henry IV, in illustration of Mr. L. A. Lawrence's paper on the coinage of that king.

Mr. W. J. Hocking exhibited specimens of the new medals awarded for the Uganda and Soudan campaigns, and a specimen of the Kruger sovereign of 1896.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a native imitation of a Ceylon one-twenty-fourth rupee with blundered lettering.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence communicated a paper on the coinage

of Henry IV. He described several new types of the groat which had been unearthed of late years, and which made it necessary to rearrange the series of coins of Henry IV, and to transfer to his reign some pieces which had been attributed hitherto to his son, Henry V. As many of these coins bear the portrait of Richard II, and are of light weight, he suggested that the date hitherto assigned to the introduction of the light silver standard—viz., the thirteenth year of Henry IV—must be erroneous, and that the reduction in weight probably took place at no very distant period after his accession. By this new classification the last issue of Henry IV and the first of Henry V were practically identical, but the latter's coinage could be distinguished by being of coarser workmanship.

APRIL 26, 1900.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Annual of the British School at Athens, 1898—1899.
2. Transactions of the Japan Society of London, 1898—1899.
3. American Journal of Archæology. Vol. III. Nos. 4—5.
4. Bulletin de Numismatique. Jan.—Fev., 1900.
5. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3^{me} and 4^{me} trimestres, 1899.
6. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 2^{me} liv., 1900.
7. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xvii. No. 2.
8. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 4, 1900.
9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 200—201.

10. A Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia, by Dr. R. Hoernle; and Hessischen Münzen (4 vols.), by J. C. C. Hoffmeister. From Sir John Evans, K.C.B., the President.

11. Numismatische Kleinigkeiten. By Dr. Heinrich Willers. From the Author.

12. Priced Sale Catalogues of the Clark and Durlacher Collections. From Major H. W. Morrisson, R.E.

The President exhibited a badge in silver of Charles I, having on the obverse the king's bust, three-quarter face, and the legend "Carolus Primus," and on the reverse the royal arms engraved between C.R.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a badge of the same class by Rawlins, but with the bust of the king in profile and bearing on the reverse a portrait of Henrietta Maria.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn showed some copper siege-money of Kilkeny, struck in 1642.

Mr. Thomas Bliss exhibited some shillings of Charles I, of the Tower mint, and of Bristol, Exeter, Worcester, and York, of various types.

Mr. L. Forrer showed an unpublished one-and-a-half thaler of Wismar, having a shield of arms on the obverse and a figure of St. Lawrence represented in three-quarter length on the reverse.

Mr. W. Webster showed a rose noble of Edward counter-struck with the arms of Dantzic.

Mr. H. A. Grueber read a paper on a recent find of gold and silver Roman coins and gold rings at Sully, near Cardiff. The hoard consisted of seven gold coins of Diocletian and Maximian Herculus, and of 316 silver pieces ranging in date from A.D. 180 to A.D. 267 (Marcus Aurelius to Postumus), with the exception of a denarius of Carausius. The most interesting amongst the gold coins was a double-aureus of Diocletian issued in A.D. 303 on the occasion of the triumph held at Rome which celebrated the brilliant achievements that had happened during his reign. It has on the reverse Victory offering a globe to the

emperor, who is shown in his favourite personification of Jupiter. The only piece of special interest amongst the silver coins was the denarius of Carausius commemorating his arrival in Britain in A.D. 286, and with the remarkable legend "Expectate veni," and showing a female figure holding a standard and greeting the emperor. This coin Mr. Grueber attributed to Rutupiæ (Richborough), at which port Carausius made his landing. The rings were of the usual forms of Roman rings of the end of the third century, having the hoops angular in shape, and having bezels with engraved or unengraved stones, or of the same material as the rest of the ring. This paper is printed in Vol. xx, p. 27.

MAY 17, 1900.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

Stephen W. Bushell, Esq., M.D., C.M.G., Signor Giovanni Dattari, and George L. Shackles, Esq., were elected Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Liv. 193.

2. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Bind xiv. Heft 4.

3. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. v. No. 4.

4. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. x. Part I.

5. Archæologia Aeliana. Vol. xxii. Part I.

6. Petit Gros d'Arnoult III, Seigneur de Randirath. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

Mr. W. Gowland exhibited a counterfeit in zinc of a Japanese silver coin stamped in many places with the names of the provinces of Sikishi and Twami. When in currency this coin

was cut in pieces for small change, each piece bearing a stamp of the province as a guarantee of its fineness. The current values of these pieces were determined by weight. Mr. Gowland also exhibited a pair of Japanese scales for weighing coins, and a touchstone.

Mr. W. C. Boyd showed a tin coin of Aracan, which came from Tenasserim.

Mr. G. E. Pritchard exhibited some seventeenth and eighteenth century tokens of Bristol.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a Calais groat of Henry VI, having the obverse of the pine-cone coinage and the reverse of the annulet coinage, two issues which were not consecutive.

Lord Grantley read a paper on a unique and unpublished penny of Heahberht, who was joint ruler in Kent with Egberht and signed charters with him in A.D. 764 and 765. The obverse was of the same type as the coins of Egberht, but the reverse type was practically copied from a coin of Offa, and it bore the moneyer's name, "Eoba," who also engraved dies for Offa's queen, Cynethryth, and his successor Coenwulf. This paper is printed in Vol. xx., p. 148.

Sir Henry H. Howorth communicated a paper on Egberht, King of Wessex, and his coinage. After criticising the early history of Egberht as given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the writer claimed for him, not a West-Saxon origin, but that he was a Kentish prince belonging to the house of Kent; that he was the same Egberht who struck coins as King of Kent in the eighth century; that he was probably the "Count Egbert" who lived at Charlemagne's court and was appointed by him *dux* over a part of the Danish March; and, lastly, that his coinage as King of Wessex did not begin till about the year 825, when he first conquered Kent. This paper is printed in Vol. xx., p. 66.

The President exhibited a series of pennies of Eadberht II, Praen, and Cuthred of Kent, and of Egberht as King of Wessex, in illustration of Sir H. Howorth's paper.

JUNE 21, 1900.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Society as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce the death of the following six Ordinary Members :—

Laurence Trent Cave, Esq.
Sir Henry Dryden, Bart.
Francis Latchmore, Esq.
Samuel Powell, Esq.
M. Raymond Serrure.
The Rev. William Wright, D.D.

And of one Honorary Member :—

M. J. P. Six.

Also the resignation of the following two Ordinary Members :—

John W. Dorman, Esq., M.A.
Francis W. Pixley, Esq., F.S.A.

On the other hand, the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following thirteen Ordinary Members :—

Stephen W. Bushell, Esq., M.D., C.M.G.
 Charles J. P. Cave, Esq.
 Reuben Cull, Esq.
 Signor Giovanni Dattari.
 William Gowland, Esq., F.S.A.
 Lionel M. Hewlett, Esq.
 H. Neville S. Langton, Esq.
 Charles Bennet Lawes, Esq.
 Frederick W. Lincoln, Esq., Jun.
 The Rev. Robert Scott Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A.
 George L. Shackles, Esq.
 Francis Bertram Welch, Esq.
 The Rev. Jeremiah Zimmerman, D.D.

And of the following three Honorary Members :—

M. Edmond Drouin.
 Prof. Dr. Ettore Gabrici.
 Prof. Dr. Behrendt Pick.

According to the Report of the Hon. Secretaries, the numbers of the Members are as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total
June, 1899	271	21	292
Since elected	13	3	16
	284	24	308
Deceased	6	1	7
Resigned	2	—	2
June, 1900	276	23	299

The Council have further to announce that they have unanimously awarded the Medal of the Society to Prof. Stanley Lane-Poole, of Trinity College, Dublin, in recognition of his numerous and valuable services to Oriental numismatics, especially in connexion with the Muhammadan coinages.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was submitted to the Meeting and adopted.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the
Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON *IN*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing <i>Chronicles</i> —						
Part II, 1899	58	10	0			
Part III, „	45	8	6			
Part IV, „	47	4	0			
				151	2	6
„ „ „ for printing Rules				4	16	3
„ „ „ „ Stationery				6	5	0
„ The Autotype Company, for Plates	17	17	5			
„ „ „	5	0	6			
„ „ „	13	16	0			
„ „ „	13	16	0			
„ „ „	18	9	6			
„ „ „	9	4	0			
				78	3	5
„ The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June 24, 1900 .	30	0	0			
„ Mrs. Harper, for Attendance, Tea, Coffee, &c.	11	8	10			
„ Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding	2	12	9			
„ Messrs. Davy & Sons, for Printing	6	10	0			
„ Messrs. Hachette, for “Dictionnaire des Antiquités”	0	3	9			
„ Messrs. Walker & Boutall, for Drawing and Engraving	1	15	0			
„ Messrs. Hatton & Son, for Stationery	0	19	0			
„ Messrs. Sampson and Bownas for Mahogany Sheraton Bookcase	10	0	0			
„ Mr. F. Anderson, for Drawing Coins	9	19	6			
„ Mr. J. Pinches, for Engraving	0	4	0			
„ Mr. C. J. Praetorius, for Drawings of three Roman Rings	1	10	0			
„ Fire Insurance	0	15	0			
„ Secretaries, for Postages	5	0	0			
„ Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, and Cheque Book	7	13	2			
„ Collector (Mr. A. W. Hunt), for Commission and Postages	9	2	11			
By Balance in hand	243	18	3			
				£581	19	4

Examined with the Vouchers, compared as to additions, and found correct,

9th July, 1900.

A. PREVOST }
 THOS. BLISS } *Auditors.*

Numismatic Society, from June, 1899, to June, 1900.

ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, HON. TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Statement	228	10	9
„ Entrance Fees	13	13	0
„ Subscriptions	247	16	0
„ Amount received for <i>Chronicles</i> , viz.—			
Mr. B. Quaritch	£61	6	3
Mr. Thos. Bliss	0	14	0
		62	0 3
„ Foreign Postages		0	2 0
„ August Dividend on £700 London and North- Western Railway 4 % Consolidated Preference Stock (less 9s. 4d. tax)	13	10	8
„ February ditto ditto ditto	13	10	8
„ Return by Inland Revenue of Three Years' Deduc- tions for Tax	2	16	0
		29	17 4

£581 19 4

ALFRED E. COPP,
HONORARY TREASURER.
21st June, 1900.

After the Report of the Council had been read and approved, the President presented the Society's medal to Mr. Rapson to forward to Professor Lane-Poole, who was unable to attend the Meeting and addressed him as follows:—

Mr. Rapson,—

In handing this medal to you for transmission to Professor Stanley Lane-Poole, I must request you to convey to him the expression of our regret at his absence from among us to-day. That regret is, however, tempered by the reason for his absence, which is that he is detained in Dublin in order that he may receive at Trinity College the degree of Litterarum Doctor, an honour that has been accorded to him on much the same grounds as those on which our medal has been awarded to him by the Council of this Society.

The names of Lane and Poole have long been connected with numismatic and Oriental studies, but there is probably no man living who has done more than the recipient of this medal to forward our knowledge of Oriental numismatics, and especially of the Muhammadan coinage, which extends over so wide a field. His Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum occupies no less than ten volumes, while that of the Indian coins in the same collection occupies three. In addition to these volumes, he has published catalogues of Arabic Glass Weights, of the Guthrie Collection, of the Muhammadan coins in the Bodleian Library, and of the Arabic coins in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. His other works, which are of great value, mainly relate to Oriental Numismatics, as do his numerous contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

His papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, extending over many years, must be known to many of those present, and by themselves alone are a monument of industry and ability which would deserve recognition on our part. Among these, the *Fasti Arabici*, of which five instalments have appeared in our pages, and of which more, I believe, is in preparation, and his

various dynastic and chronological tables, are perhaps of the greatest historical importance, and certainly are of the most valuable assistance to students.

In giving him this medal you will assure him of our gratitude for past services to our science, and of our hopes that he may long be spared to continue his researches.

Mr. Rapson, having thanked the Council on behalf of Professor Lane-Poole for having conferred on him the medal of the Society for 1900, remarked, "Personally, I am sure, we all regret his inability to be present this evening; but, as numismatists, I think we can scarcely help feeling some pride in the thought that his absence is due to the honour which the University of Dublin has to-day conferred on him and, through him, on our science. Before I read the letter of thanks which Professor Lane-Poole addressed to me on learning that the Society's medal had been awarded to him, I am sure, sir, that he would wish me to say how greatly this distinction is enhanced by your very kind and appreciative review of his numismatic work." Mr. Rapson then read the following letter from Professor Lane-Poole.

"Trinity College, Dublin.

21st May, 1900.

"Dear Rapson,—Will you kindly express to the President and Council of the Numismatic Society my sense of the high honour they have done me in awarding me the medal of the Society? I wish I could come over on the 21st June and thank them in person, but, unfortunately, I have to be here at that date to receive the degree of Litterarum Doctor, which the University of Dublin has conferred upon me—not *honoris causa*—but for those very numismatic works (among others) which the Society has honoured by the medal.

"I shall always feel grateful to the Society for having given me my first opportunities for publishing my early (and, I fear, crude) beginnings of numismatic research, now more than a

quarter of a century ago. I have not given up my interest in Oriental coins. Whatever is to be seen here in that branch always comes under my eyes; I am in constant correspondence with collectors and students in various countries; and the aim of my life is now to finish the *corpus* of Arabic coins, or *Fasti Arabici*, at which I have been at work at every spare moment for the past fifteen years.

“I mention this merely to show the Society that ‘age has not dimmed, nor custom staled,’ my interest in my favourite branch of research, and I hope that future work may prove that the medal may be an incentive as well as a reward.

“I am, dear Rapson,

“Yours very truly,

“STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

“E. J. Rapson, Esq., M.A.”

The President then delivered his Annual Address, which was as follows :—

It is again my pleasing duty to offer to the Numismatic Society an Anniversary Address, and in doing so I would begin by thanking for their presence and support the numerous members who honoured me with their company last June at my Jubilee celebration in the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, which were kindly lent for the occasion. My family and I much enjoyed the pleasure of their company, and I venture to hope that the pleasure was reciprocal.

I am glad to say that the condition of the Society at the end of another year is still prosperous, both as regards numbers and finances. As you have heard from the Report of the Council, our numbers exceed by five those of the corresponding period last year, while the Treasurer's account shows that our balance in hand is rather in excess of what it was at the corresponding period of last year.

Our medal has this year been awarded to Professor Stanley

Lane-Poole, in recognition of the services that he has rendered to Oriental numismatics, especially in connection with the Muhammadan coinage; and the award will, I am sure, give much satisfaction to all those in the dominions of the Empress of India who are interested in its history and coinage.

Our losses by death have, I am pleased to say, been below rather than above the average.

M. Jan Pieter Six, of Amsterdam, had been an Honorary Member of our Society since 1865, and was one of the most distinguished numismatists of the present century. His knowledge of coins, especially those belonging to the Greek series, was singularly wide and accurate, and not even the minutest details escaped his notice. A student of history, he was always on the alert for any assistance that coins could either give his studies or, on the other hand, receive from them. He was even at times a little over-bold in his speculations; but if these led to discussion by others, there was no one more ready than M. Six to accept an amendment of his views, his sole object being the discovery of truth. His communications to the *Numismatic Chronicle* were numerous and important. The first of these, dated December, 1864, was in the form of a letter to Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, and related to the coins of the Ptolemies. The letter and the reply did much towards the elucidation of the sequence of this Egyptian series.

His subsequent communications to the *Chronicle* have been some fifteen in number, and many of them of great importance, and though in his early days he had devoted much attention to Roman coins, they relate almost exclusively to the Greek series. It would be a needless, and perhaps tedious, task to recount the subjects of these papers; but those on Lyceios, a dynast of the Pæonians—on the coins of the satraps of Caria and of Mazaïos—on Aphrodite-Nemesis—on Phœnician legends—and the more recent papers on rare and inedited Greek coins—may be mentioned as illustrating the wide field that his researches embraced.

His great works on the classification of the Cypriote series and on Lycian coins found a place in the *Revue Numismatique*, and he also contributed important papers to the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* and to the *Annuaire de Numismatique*. In 1890 he was awarded the medal of this Society, and rarely has that medal been bestowed on a more worthy recipient.

M. Six was not only a numismatist, but in his younger days devoted himself earnestly to philology. His collection of editions of Plautus and of books connected with that author he presented to the University of Utrecht. He took a warm interest in the antiquities of the Low Countries, and was one of the founders, if not indeed the originator, of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Holland. He inherited a love for art, being one of the direct descendants of Jan Six, the Burgo-master of Amsterdam from 1691 to 1702, who was long the friend and patron of Rembrandt, Lievens, and Flinck. The portraits of Jan Six and of his mother, Ann Six, painted by Rembrandt in 1656 and 1641, are among the gems of the world-renowned Six Gallery, which, through the characteristic liberality of M. J. P. Six, was always accessible to the public, involving, as it did at times, no little personal inconvenience to its proprietor. In him we lose a warm friend to the Society, full of erudition and endowed with great powers of induction, whose death causes a gap which it will be impossible to fill. He was born on November 6th, 1824, and died at his country residence of Hilversum, near Amsterdam, on July 17th, 1899.

Since these few lines were written, a far more complete and interesting biography of the late M. J. P. Six has appeared in the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, from the pen of his son, M. J. Six. This memoir is accompanied by an excellent portrait.

Sir Henry Edward Leigh Dryden, Bart., of Ambrosden, Oxon, and of Canon's Ashby, Northants, came of an old Northamptonshire family, which had been settled in that

county since the days of Elizabeth, and was a direct descendant of John Dryden the poet. He was born on August 7th, 1818, and was well known as a diligent antiquary, who took a warm interest in all that related to the history of his county, and who especially concerned himself with church architecture and music and with the remains of the "late-Celtic" period. He was educated at Shrewsbury and at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his M.A. degree in 1839. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the Rev. Sir Henry Turner Dryden, in 1837.

In 1852 he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, through the late Mr. C. Roach Smith, a report on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, which was followed by a supplementary paper in 1882. He also made frequent communications to the British Archæological Association, the Royal Archæological Institute, the Northampton Architectural Society, and other bodies.

For his work among the Scottish brochs and his accounts of the church of St. Magnus, Kirkwall, Orkney, he was made an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1865. Perhaps his most important paper, from the English point of view, was that on Hunsbury or Danes Camp, near Northampton, communicated to the local Society in 1885. The remains there discovered comprise a large number of important relics of the "late-Celtic period," which are now for the most part deposited in the Northampton Museum. Sir Henry became a Member of the Numismatic Society in 1861, but never communicated any article to the *Chronicle*. He died on the 24th July, 1899, not from old age, but from the results of a slight and almost unnoticed accident, which led to blood-poisoning.

The Rev. William Wright, D.D., was elected a Member of this Society in 1883, but did not contribute to our journal. He was, however, an active member of the Society of Biblical Archæology and of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He was a man of wide

sympathies, who took a warm interest both in archæology and numismatics, especially from the biblical point of view. He was born in Rathfriland, County Down, on July 15th, 1837, and was educated at Queen's College, Belfast, and at Geneva. Originally intended for the Civil Service, he as a young man joined the Presbyterian ministry, and for ten years was actively associated with the Jewish Mission at Damascus. It was there that in the main he acquired his linguistic and archæological knowledge, and his important work on the Empire of the Hittites, which embodied the results of many of his researches, obtained for him in 1882 the degree of D.D. from the University of Glasgow. In the meantime, in 1876 he succeeded Canon Girdlestone as Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, where his labours were unremitting. His aid to the translators of the Revised New Testament was recognized as of the highest value ; and besides other work, he was a not infrequent contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Contemporary Review*, and several religious periodicals. Among his other works may be mentioned a volume on the Brontes in Ireland, and one upon Palmyra and Zenobia. He died of heart disease on July 31st, 1899.

Mr. Samuel Powell, of Ivy House, Welshpool, was one of our country Members who from geographical reasons are but rarely able to be present at our meetings. He was, however, a diligent collector of coins, and took a warm interest in the Society, into which he was elected in 1881. He belonged to an old Montgomeryshire family, and took for many years an active part in public affairs, both as a Justice of the Peace for his county and as concerned in the administration of the Poor Law. He died at Ivy House on the 15th of February last, in the 83rd year of his age.

In Mr. Francis Latchmore, of Hitchin, we have lost an energetic collector not only of coins, but of antiquities both historic and pre-historic. Though actively engaged in a retail business that required close attention, he found time to devote

himself to his favourite pursuits, and became a centre towards which any objects of antiquity discovered within a radius of many miles naturally gravitated. He was elected a Member of this Society in 1881, and in 1889 communicated to us a short account of a hoard of upwards of 2,800 Roman billon and small brass coins extending from the reign of Gordian III to that of Aurelian, found near Cambridge. Again, in 1897, he gave us a note on some Saxon coins found near Hitchin entangled in the roots of an elm-tree that had been blown down. These were of Burgred and Aethelred I; but he at the same time recorded the discovery of some sceattas and of coins of Offa and Alfred. He fell a victim to a rapid consumption, and died on July 17th, 1899, aged 59 years.

Monsieur Raymond Serrure, of Paris, who died rather suddenly on the 16th of September, 1899, had been a Member of this Society since the year 1891. He attained considerable distinction as a numismatist, especially in connection with the history of the mediæval mints of France, Belgium, and Holland, and is perhaps best known for his important work on the numismatics of France, written in conjunction with M. Arthur Engel. Born at Ghent on Christmas Day, 1862, he was the son of M. Constant Antoine Serrure and grandson of M. Constant Philippe Serrure, professor of history in the University of Ghent, of which at one time he was rector. Both his father and grandfather were well known as lovers of coins, and his grandfather was one of the founders of the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. No wonder, then, that the taste for numismatics was inherited; and at the age of seventeen young Raymond Serrure began communicating miscellanea to the *Revue*. In 1880 he published a geographical dictionary of the monetary history of Belgium, and in 1881 he started the *Bulletin Mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*. This, which had been published at Brussels, was succeeded in 1891 by the *Bulletin de Numismatique*, published at Paris. In 1897 he became editor of the *Gazette Numismatique Française*, to the Third Part of which for

1899 I am indebted for these particulars. The same periodical contains a list of no less than a hundred and fifty-six articles and separate works of which he was the author, or occasionally the joint author. His death, at an age below 37, has cut short a most promising career. Those who were brought in contact with him in business relations can bear testimony to the uprightness of his character and to his quickness of perception. Personally I much regret his loss, and not the less so because I had in old times the pleasure of being acquainted with both his father and grandfather before him.

It is with deep regret that I have to record the decease of Professor Adolf Holm, who, though not an Honorary Member of our Society, deserved well of numismatic science. He was one of those few historians who accept the testimony of coins at its proper value in relation to history. His *Griechische Geschichte* has been translated into the English language, and occupies a deservedly high position, while his History of Sicily and its coins down to the time of Augustus formed the subject of an appreciative review by my son, Mr. Arthur Evans, in the *Chronicle* two years ago, and was cited by me as one of the most valuable numismatic works of the year in my Anniversary Address for 1898.

He died after a long illness at Freiburg im Breisgau, on June 9th of the present year, in the seventieth year of his age.

Turning now to the subjects that have been brought under our consideration during the past year, I find that, apart from numerous and important exhibitions of rare and interesting coins and medals, the memoirs that have been read at our meetings extend, as usual, over a very wide field.

Those relating to the Greek coinages occupy the first place, at all events chronologically, if not indeed otherwise.

Sir Hermann Weber, in a paper on Finds of Archaic Greek Coins in Lower Egypt, has described between thirty and forty coins from a hoard discovered at Sakha, of which a somewhat larger number of coins seem to have been dispersed. They

consist in the main of early issues from the mints of Dicaea in Thrace, Lete, Neapolis of Macedon, Aegina, Corinth, Naxos, Paros, Mytilene in Lesbos, Chios, Cyrene, and some uncertain localities. Particulars of another portion of the hoard, of which Sir Hermann gives only a summary account, will be published in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. There is a curious general similarity between the Sakha hoard and that from Lower Egypt described by Canon Greenwell in the *Chronicle* ten years ago, and it seems very remarkable that so many archaic Greek silver coins should be found so far away from their original homes. The reason, however, assigned for this circumstance, suggested by Mr. Dutilh, of Alexandria, and adopted by the author, seems to be the true one. They were imported into Egypt merely as bullion; moreover, the bulk of them belong to a period two hundred years before the existence of any indigenous coinage in Egypt.

Mr. Warwick Wroth has continued his laudable custom of annually bringing before us a notice of the Greek coins acquired by the British Museum during the preceding year. In 1899 these have been considerably fewer in number than in any of the previous four or five years, but among the acquisitions are several noteworthy coins. First on his list is a very rare but uncertain silver coin of Etruria, possibly of Pisae. It bears as type a singularly-formed sepia, composed of a central amphora, with helmets on either side and numerous tentacles. The reverse is plain, and the only letters upon the obverse are **XX**, indicative of value. It was bought many years ago at Portsmouth, by the late Mr. Vaux, for the sum of twopence, it having been at the time regarded as a copper coin. Among the gold coins acquired is a stater of Antigonos, with the types of Alexander the Great, but the Nike on the reverse holds an acrostolium instead of a palm, possibly in commemoration of the naval victory off Salamis in B.C. 306. A silver didrachm of Aptera in Crete, with the head of Artemis, and a tetradrachm of Lampsacus, with the head of a bearded

Priapus, are worthy of notice; as are also the rare tetradrachms of Demetrius II, of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII of Syria, and that of Ptolemy I of Egypt, with the types usually found on the coins bearing the name of Alexander. There are, of course, many other important coins on the list, and the early notices that we have received of them have added much to the utility of the National Collection.

Mr. George Macdonald, the author of the revised catalogue of the Hunter Collection at Glasgow, has contributed a valuable paper on the amphora letters on coins of Athens. In it he shows that the **N** which occurs on some of the amphoræ is not due to an engraver's error, but is intentionally placed there. The number of the letters on the amphoræ being in excess of twelve, they cannot refer to the prytanies or tribes, but in all probability are indicative of months, which did not in all cases correspond with the duration of the prytanies. But the difficulties which have met Beulé and others in connecting the magistrates' names with the dates seem to have arisen from the fact that in the second century B.C. a double system of time-reckoning was in vogue at Athens, one secular and the other religious or *κατὰ θεόν*. It is impossible here to discuss the points adduced, but the amount of accurate work bestowed upon the paper, and the number of coins in different cabinets that have been consulted, justify full confidence being placed in Mr. Macdonald's conclusions and in his rectification of the somewhat numerous errors into which M. Beulé has fallen.

Mr. Seltman's paper on "Nummi serrati and astral coin types" is also one that it is difficult to discuss in a few words. The existence of astronomical and possibly solar types upon coins can hardly be doubted, but the extension of astral radiation to the serrated edge of the coin itself is more susceptible of question, and the author seems inclined to regard the serration both of silver and copper coins as a preservative against the flans cracking under the blow of the dies. Even if this were the

cause of the peculiarity, there still remains something to be said in favour of the old view that in the Roman denarii the cut edge was intended to show that the coin was of solid silver and not plated. The old Germans had probably some ground for preferring the "bigatos serratosque" to ordinary coins.

Mr. Hill, in a paper on "Olba, Cennatis, Lalassis," has pointed out the intimate connection of the numismatic history of these three localities, the high-priest and dynast of the sanctuary of Zeus Olbius being also toparch of the districts of Cennatis and Lalassis, as appears on some of the coins of King Polemo. The name of Ajax the son of Teucer does not carry us back to the time of the Trojan war, but only to the days of Augustus; and Strabo states that most of the high-priests of Olba bore the names of Ajax and Teucer. The Polemos were, it seems, direct descendants of Mark Antony. The paper is of geographical as well as of numismatic interest, and will have to be consulted by all those who study the topography and history of Cilicia. Mr. Hill has also given us a notice of a hoard of Cyrenaic bronze coins conglomerated into a mass weighing upwards of 18 lbs., and has continued his valuable and interesting bibliographical notes on Greek numismatics.

We have had four papers relating to Roman numismatics.

Mr. H. A. Grueber, one of our Honorary Secretaries, has furnished us with a detailed and interesting account of a hoard of Roman gold and silver coins and gold rings, lately found at Sully, near Cardiff. The silver coins with one exception range between the days of Marcus Aurelius and Postumus, and are 316 in number. The gold coins, seven in number, belong, however, to a later period, being all of Diocletian or Maximian Herculeus, one of them being a double aureus of a type hitherto unpublished. The author accounts for the gap of some twenty years between the two series of silver and gold coins by assigning to the depositor of the hoard the not unnatural desire to lay by coins of fairly good silver instead of the washed copper coinage which had replaced the denarii of earlier times. The presence of the exceptional

coin that has been mentioned tends to support this view, it being of good silver and struck under Carausius. This coin is in fine condition and of the interesting EXPECTATE VENI type. Mr. Grueber suggests that the figure welcoming the emperor is not, as commonly described, that of Britain, but rather of *Fides Militum*. The object she holds is a vexillum, and not a trident, and the two figures closely accord with those on one of the silver coins of Carausius with the legend, FIDE. MI. AV. in my own collection.

The interpretation of the exergual letters R S R has long been a puzzle to numismatists. They occur on the great majority of the silver coins of Carausius, but also on a certain number of his copper coins. These, however, are in the main of the same types as those in silver, so that it is possible that they were originally plated. The letters have usually been regarded as in some manner denoting the place of mintage, which was in all probability Rutupiae, or Richborough, and Mr. Grueber suggests Rutupiae Stativa, or Statio Romana, as their extended form. I am tempted to hazard another interpretation. Mr. Grueber has pointed out that the issue of these coins of comparatively fine silver was an absolute anomaly, as in no other part of the Roman Empire were coins of the same standard of metal or denomination—that of the old Roman denarius—at that time struck. It is probable, therefore, that the coins of this new issue had some distinctive name or designation. Now, perhaps the most common of all the types of these denarii is the wolf and twins, with the legend in various more or less contracted or inverted forms, ROMANORVM RENOVATIO. Can this be held to refer to the renewal of the old Roman coinage; and if so, was the new denarius by any chance known as the Romanus? In the twelfth century we find certain gold coins known as Romanati, and if eight centuries earlier a similar habit of thought prevailed, the letters R.S.R. may signify (nummus) Romanus Signatus Rutupiis. This conjecture must be taken for what it is worth, but all who study Mr. Grueber's paper will feel

that he has added much value to an interesting hoard of coins by the manner in which he has treated it.

When speaking of possible and actual names of Roman coins, I may mention a derivation of the word *traffic*, propounded in the *Athenæum*¹ by Prof. Eiríkr Magnússon. He shows that the current name for the Roman *quinarius*, or rather *victoriatus*, among the Greeks was τροπᾰῖκόν, so called on account of the trophy on the reverse. Among the Jews the name assumed the form of *traffic*, plural *traffikin*, and other slightly varying forms, and the coin *traffic* is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. To connect the coin with commerce, it is suggested that the early Italian *trafficare* meant to transact money business with the Jews, and that the more extended modern sense of trafficking was developed by a perfectly natural process of evolution. Without at once accepting this etymology, I must confess that it appears at least as possible as that which derives *traffic* from the unknown word *trans-vicare*.

But to return to our own proceedings. Mr. Haverfield has favoured us with an account of a hoard of base *denarii*, found at Carhayes, in Cornwall, about thirty years ago. They are about 2,100 in number, extending over about thirty years, from the time of Valerian to that of Probus, the reigns most fully represented being those of Gallienus and the usurpers in Gaul, Victorinus and his successors. In character this hoard closely resembles many others that have been found in Gaul and in Britain, and seems to be significant of troublous times when it was consigned to the earth.

A paper by M. Jules Maurice, on the chronological classification of the issues from the mint of Antioch during the Constantine period, embraces the history of no less than eleven separate coinages at that mint. It is of great value, as affording a guide to the arrangement of the numerous coins struck at Antioch under the emperors and Cæsars and their wives from

¹ April 7, 1900.

the time of Constantius I in A.D. 306 to the death of Crispus and Fausta in A.D. 326, while it also throws light on the emissions of other mints during that period.

In a posthumous paper the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers has given us a notice of a hoard of Roman denarii of the Republic and the early emperors down to Hadrian, found in the Panjâb.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the other branches of numismatics, I may be allowed to say a few words with regard to a subject of rather wide interest.

At our last anniversary meeting I mentioned the two exhaustive memoirs that had been on different occasions brought before us by Mr. Talfourd Ely and Mr. Seltman, with regard to the fresco in the Casa dei Vettii at Pompeii, which was thought to represent the process of coining. I was not at that time aware of a communication made to the French Numismatic Society, in February, 1899, by M. Adrien Blanchet, in which he refers to a short note of his in the *Revue Numismatique*,² and re-states his opinion that it is not a mint but a silversmith's workshop that is depicted. He cites a curious brass tessera in the Museum at Vienna, on which a Roman moneyer is represented at work; and again, in December last, brings forward a bas-relief in the Naples Museum showing silversmiths at work. In the meantime, in September last, a correspondence is published in the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*,³ between Messrs. Svoronos and Seltman, the former advocating the view of a Greek mint and the latter that of a Roman. There is, moreover, Signor A. Sogliano's article on la Casa dei Vettii in the *Monumenti Antichi*,⁴ in which he regards the subject of the picture as undoubtedly a scene in a silversmith's shop, the seated figure or Psyche being the buyer, and the Cupid in front of her with the pair of scales being the seller. But why do I dwell on this subject, which during the past year has not been immediately brought under

² 1896, p. 360.

³ 1899, p. 251.

⁴ Vol. VIII., 1898.

the notice of the Society? It is because, during the time that I have been a truant from my duties as your President, I have had an opportunity of again visiting Pompeii and forming a personal acquaintance with the Casa dei Vettii. I went there fully hoping to recognize as correct the view that a Roman mint was before me, and I came away compelled to put up with the more ordinary representation of a silversmith's shop in its stead. The picture is one of a series representing various trades and occupations, and doubts naturally arose whether a purely governmental establishment such as a mint could properly have a place among them. In the scene of the apothecary's shop we have the same Amorino with the sledge-hammer, the same seated Psyche. The fuller's shop, the wine shop, the vintage, and other scenes are all those of ordinary life, and the silversmith's shop would far more naturally find a place among them than a mint, the nearest example of which was probably at Rome, more than 160 miles away. But how about Juno Moneta, with the eyes from the peacock's tail on her wings? Here again I was disillusionized. The eyes are by no means distinct in the picture under discussion, but are remarkably clear in the picture of three "Psyches" gathering flowers, in which arises no question of a Juno being present. I regret that I have thus to take the part of a Balaam, but I have pleasure in presenting some photographs of scenes in the Casa dei Vettii to the Society.

Returning to our papers, we have but little to record with regard to the coinage of the ancient Britons. A short note of mine, relating to a small bronze coin of Verulam found on the sea-shore at Ostend, has, however, been printed.

We have had some interesting communications on the Anglo-Saxon and English series.

Lord Grantley has called our attention to an unpublished coin of Heahberht, King of Kent, struck by the moneyer EOBA. This king signed and confirmed charters of Ecgberht, King of Kent, between A.D. 765 and 791; but the coin probably belongs

to the close of his reign, as the moneyer coined not only for Offa and Cynethryth, but for Coenwulf. In one of the charters the style of King of half of Kent is used, and this joint kingship may prove to be an important factor in Kentish numismatics. The resemblance of the obverse of Lord Grantley's coin to that of the penny of Egberht of Kent has to be noticed in taking the paper next to be mentioned into consideration. In this paper Sir Henry H. Howorth discusses Egberht, King of the West Saxons and the Kent Men, and his coins, and raises some interesting historical and numismatic questions. He considers that Egberht was not a West Saxon at all, but a Kentish prince; that he was the same Egberht who struck coins as King of Kent at the end of the eighth century; that he was probably the Count Egbert who was one of Charlemagne's paladins; that about A.D. 825 he again struck coins in Kent alone; and that the coinage of Wessex proper did not commence until after his death. The peculiar coins of Egberht with the monogram **R** in the centre have been regarded as struck by a King of Kent unknown to history, though his moneyers prove him to have been a contemporary of Offa, King of Mercia. One of them also, Babba, was a moneyer of Eadberht Praen, A.D. 796 to 798. Sir Henry Howorth comments on the inaccuracies and discrepancies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but that document records the fact the Egberht was driven out of this country into France before he became king, possibly for the second time. That an Egbert, between A.D. 796 and 815, and especially in 809 and 811, was one of Charlemagne's counts appears to be matter of history, and in 815 an Egberht reappears in England as conquering the West Welsh and the men of Cornwall. This, however, was as King of Wessex. What Sir Henry contends for, is that none of Egberht's coins were struck for that kingdom until after his conquest of Kent; and this view is supported by the fact that, as has been pointed out by Messrs. Grueber and Keary, most of his coins were struck by well-known Kentish moneyers. It would be a hope-

less task to attempt to resume the whole argument in a few sentences, but there can be no doubt that the views brought forward are worthy of the most thoughtful consideration. It would, I think, clear the way for this consideration if it were at once recognized that there may have been two Kings of Kent of the name of Ecgberht, as there were of the name of Eadberht. The Ecgberht of Kent who signed charters in A.D. 765 can hardly be the same person as the Ecgberht of Wessex who, after an interval of more than seventy years, signs charters in A.D. 838, and whose death is by some authorities placed in A.D. 839.

The most extensive and detailed communication that we have received for many years on any section of the English series is that by Mr. W. J. Andrew on the coinage of Henry I. So important has this paper appeared to the Council to be, that it has been determined to devote the volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1901 almost entirely to its publication; and it will, in fact, inaugurate the beginning of the fourth series of that periodical. It has been found convenient that the publications for the years 1900 and 1901 should in each case be spread over the two years, so that Members will during the current year receive part of the *Chronicle* for 1901, while the completion of the *Chronicle* for 1900 will not be in their hands before the middle of 1901. It would have been a misfortune if one portion of this valuable monograph should have appeared in the last volume of one series and the concluding portion in the first volume of another. I shall not at the present time attempt to detain you with any analysis of its contents.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence has called our attention to the coinage of Henry IV, of whose groats he has discovered several new types. One of the results of his examination of the coins is that he would transfer some of the coins usually assigned to Henry V from him to his father. He would also place the reduction in the weight of the coinage of Henry IV to an earlier

date than his thirteenth year. I must confess that, not having had the advantage of hearing the paper, I do not know the manner in which the author reconciles his views with the date of the Act of Parliament authorizing the change in weight. It is by no means improbable that the puncheons used for producing the head of Richard II on his dies remained in use for those of his successor long after his death. Mr. Lawrence has also supplied us with a note on a new variety of the half-groat of Charles I, and Mr. Hoblyn with one on a pattern farthing or jetton of Mary II.

In Oriental numismatics we have done but little, though a posthumous paper of the late Mr. Charles J. Rodgers on a new coin of Aspavarma of Bactria, in continuation of a paper of his in the *Chronicle* for 1896, has appeared in our pages.

Mr. J. M. C. Johnston has also supplied us with a list of some Mohammedan coins in his collection, which do not appear in the catalogues either of the British Museum or of the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris.

Taken altogether, the subjects discussed at our meetings and the articles that have appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* afford satisfactory evidence that our Society is not in any degree declining in its activity.

Among the publications of the past year must be mentioned a handbook of Greek and Roman coins from the pen of our Foreign Secretary, Mr. G. F. Hill. It is to some extent constructed on a new plan, and is intended "chiefly as a guide to put students of antiquity in the way of bringing numismatics to bear on their difficulties," and not as a means for the collector "to identify coins which he happens to possess." This statement of the author must not, however, be interpreted too literally, as the mere collector, as well as the professed student, will find a mine of useful and interesting information within its pages. In the first part of the book the origin, the metals, the standards, and the officials of both the Greek and Roman coinages are discussed, as well as the relations of the

coinage to the State. In the second part, fabric and style, the meaning and classification of coin-types, coin-inscriptions, and the dating of coins, form the subjects of separate chapters. Among the appendices, those of ancient standards, Roman mint-marks, and the Imperial families will prove of great service both to students and collectors. Moreover, the book is illustrated by fifteen autotype plates, and is provided with a good index. Among the illustrations in the text, the picture from the House of the Vettii is reproduced, and is treated as representing a Roman mint, and the view that it is rather a gold or silversmith's workshop is dismissed with the statement that "jewels are not made with sledge-hammers." There is, however, no reason why gold or silver plate should not have been drawn out by hammer and anvil. The book, as a whole, is excellent, and in reading it the only doubt that occurs to the mind is whether it is not too scholarly and thorough to meet with popular applause.

Another volume that undoubtedly promises to be deservedly popular is the *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, written by our able Secretary, Mr. Grueber. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise upon the whole of the coins of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but is limited to descriptions of the specimens exhibited in the corridor of the Medal Room, which, however, are upwards of 1,300 in number. The most important pieces are illustrated in 64 collotype plates, and an introduction of 60 pages gives a succinct account of the successive coinages of our monarchs from Anglo-Saxon times onwards, the various denominations of their coins, the places where they were minted, their standards and types. Altogether it is a book which will prove of the utmost service to collectors. It must not, however, be supposed that, extensive as the series exhibited is, it by any means includes all the rarities preserved in our National Collection. A certain number, for instance, of what are usually regarded as pattern-pieces are included in the show-cases, while others equally

important have, like the horseman-shilling of Edward VI, been excluded for want of space. This exclusion may perhaps account for the third issue of Edward VI, that bearing the ostrich-head mint-mark, being limited to gold coins by the author. A complete list of mint-marks from Edward IV to Charles II is appended, as also a list of the mottoes, etc., on the coins described, together with translations of them. With regard to a probable Irish coinage of Edward VI, I see that Mr. Grueber is unwilling to accept my views. This, however, is not a proper occasion for discussing the question, and I can only say that, on re-reading what I published in the *Chronicle* in 1886, I see no reason for altering the opinion I then expressed.

I am, however, afraid that I have detained the meeting too long with this chronicle of our losses and commentary on our achievements, and will conclude with an expression of a sincere hope that in future years our losses may be less, while our achievements may do even more for the advancement of numismatic knowledge.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was moved by Mr. James Cove Jones, the senior member of the Society, and seconded by Mr. Talfourd Ely.

The President then announced to the meeting the result of the ballot for the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year, which was as follows :—

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OF LONDON.
DECEMBER, 1900.



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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1899.

(See Plates I, II.)

As will be seen from the table given below, the total number of Greek coins acquired by the British Museum during the year 1899 is 485. Most of these have been obtained by purchase out of the ordinary Departmental Grant, but some are presentations due to the kindness of the Rev. Arthur Dixon, Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, Mr. A. J. Lawson, Mr. E. J. Seltman, Mr. T. Fox Sharp, and Mr. S. Spero. Shortly after the death of Dr. Jan Pieter Six, the distinguished numismatist of Amsterdam, his son, Professor Jan Six, very kindly offered to present to the British Museum, in his own name and in that of Dr. W. Six, some Greek coin of importance from his father's collection, in remembrance of the friendly and long-continued relations that had existed between Dr. Six and the members of the Medal Room Staff. The coin that has thus passed into the Museum is the very rare and interesting didrachm of Hieropolis (Bambyce) in Cyrrhestica, with the reverse type Atergatis riding on a lion. It has already been well described and photographed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*

(1878, p. 104, No. 2, Pl. VI. 2; cf. B. M. Cat. *Galatia*, p. liii.) by J. P. Six himself.¹

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887—1899.

Year.	Gold and Electrum.	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	110	176
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	270	347
1890	5	102	70	177
1891	16	280	73	369
1892	10	99	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
1894	31	164	453	648
1895	20	178	479	677
1896	54	428	170	652
1897	20	313	503	836
1898	3	222	699	924
1899	1	112	372	485
Total . .	194	2,356	4,056	6,606

UNCERTAIN OF ETRURIA.

1. *Obv.*—Sepia with spreading arms and tentacles: its body is represented by an amphora, and its lateral fins by the lower part of two helmets placed sideways. Beneath amphora, XX (mark of value). The whole in circular border.

Rev.—Plain.

R. Size 1·3. Wt. 349·5 grs. [Pl. II. 2
obv.]

¹ Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins and Medals from the year 1887 onwards will be found described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; 1891, p. 116 f.; 1892, p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f.; 1895, p. 89 f.; 1896, p. 85 f.; 1897, p. 93 f.; 1898, p. 97 f.; 1899, p. 85 f. In preparing this paper I have had the advantage of consulting the

This coin, the genuineness of which is undoubted, was formerly in the possession of Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, the numismatist, who found it many years ago in the shop of a marine-store dealer at Portsmouth. Being much discoloured, it was supposed by the dealer to be an old copper medal, and he sold it to Mr. Vaux for twopence.

Two similar specimens in the Strozzi collection are described by Garrucci (*Mon. d' Ital.*, p. 49, No. 18; Pl. lxxi., 18),² who is inclined to attribute them to the ancient Pisae, partly because they were both procured from Pisa, and partly because of the sepia (τεuthίς) type, which he takes to be a play upon Teuta, the name by which (according to one of several varying traditions) the town of Pisae was originally called. But these reasons for the attribution hardly seem cogent. The date of the coin may be about B.C. 450.

The type consists of an ordinary amphora, which serves as the body of a sepia, and on each side is a projection which Garrucci takes to be the lateral fins of the sepia (*Loligo*). Lateral fins are, I believe, conspicuous in *Loligo vulgaris*, though much less prominent in *Sepia officinalis*, which latter is considered by Imhoof-Blumer and Keller³ to be the sepia usually found on Greek coins, *e.g.*, on the coins of Coresia in Ceos. Doubtless these projections on our coin are intended to represent

section on Greek coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Parliamentary Report of the British Museum, and I am also indebted for several suggestions to Mr. Head and Mr. G. F. Hill.

² See also Bompois, *Rev. Arch.*, 1879, n.s., vol. xxxviii, p. 76, Pl. XVII. 5; *Per. di num.*, vi., p. 65; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 13; cp. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, p. 49, No. 19, with the mark of value X and Sepia-amphora type *without* lateral projections.

³ *Tier-und Pflanzenbilder*.

(or caricature) the fins of the *Loligo*, but what they actually consist of (as Mr. Cecil Smith has pointed out to me) is two helmets, the lower parts of which alone are shown, though the eye-slit and nasal piece are clearly visible. This bizarre combination of sepia, amphora and helmet is probably without parallel on autonomous Greek coins, but is less surprising in Etruria where, for instance, sepulchral urns were often surmounted by human heads, and vases were strangely shaped and moulded (see, *e.g.*, the illustrations in Martha's *L'Art Étrusque*, pp. 331-336, p. 471).

MESMA (BRUTTIUM).

2. *Obv.*—[MEΣ]MA. Female head r.; hair rolled and flowing behind neck (nymph of the fountain Mesma⁴); wears earring and necklace; in front, crescent; behind, vase reversed; border.

Rev.—Youthful figure naked (River-god?) seated l. on rock covered with animal's skin; hair long; legs crossed. His l. hand rests on rock; with his r. he holds up a crab towards which a dog is leaping; border.

Æ. Size .85. [Pl. I. 2.]

This beautiful specimen, which is covered with a pale green patina, is an interesting variety of the coin of Mesma, published by Millingen (*Anc. Coins of Greek Cities*, p. 21; Pl. II., 1.⁵), on which the youth holds (apparently) a patera, while the dog is seated. The crab here held by the figure seems to identify him as a river-god—either the Bruttian Metaurus, or the local river now called *Mesima*.

⁴ The fountain named Medma (Mesma) is mentioned by Strabo, vi., p. 256; cp. Steph. Byz., Μέδμη, πόλις Ἰταλίας καὶ κρήνη ὁμώνυμος.

⁵ See also *Brit. Mus. Cat., Italy*, "Mesma," No. 3; Leake, *Num. Hell.*, p. 128; De Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. IV. 9.

The main fact in the little-known history of Mesma is its capture, in B.C. 388, by Dionysius the Elder, and the bestowal by him of its territory upon the Locrians. Mr. Head (*H. N.*, p. 89) thinks that the coinage (bronze) of this town is subsequent to B.C. 388, and, perhaps, even later than B.C. 344, the date when Locri herself began to coin money. The style of our reverse type (which may be almost called Praxitelean) may seem best suited to this latter date, but, on the whole, I am myself inclined to place the coinage *before*, rather than after, B.C. 388. For (i) the coinages of Bruttium (as is pointed out in the *Historia Numorum*, p. 76) come to an end, generally, *circ.* B.C. 388, the period of the ravages of the Lucanians and of Dionysius; (ii) the coins of Mesma differ much from the bronze coins of the Locrians, and were thus, presumably, struck before Locri obtained possession of Mesma; (iii) the type of a naked figure seated on a rock, and holding out some object before him, belongs, in Italy, especially to the end of the fifth and the early part of the fourth century. Well-known instances occur at Croton and Pandosia, and at Tarentum, where the type of the seated Taras or Demos playing with a panther's cub resembles the Mesma reverse-type (see Gardner, *Types*, Pl. V., 3 = Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, Pl. I., 12).

The only silver coins that have been attributed to Mesma are "Corinthian" staters marked **ME** and **M**, and issued⁶ *circ.* B.C. 344-300, no doubt under Locrian influence.

ZANCLE (SICILY).

3. *Obv.*—**DANKVE** Dolphin l. within enclosure in the shape of a sickle (ζάγκλον); on each side of enclosure, border of dots.

⁶ Head, *B. M. Cat., Corinth*, p. xlix.

Rev.—The type of the obverse repeated in incuse to r., but without the inscription.

Æ. Size .95. Wt. 87.7 grs. [Pl. I. 1.]

This coin (an Aeginetic drachm) was discovered near Messina in 1895, in a small hoard of silver money of Zancle and Naxos, probably buried in 493 B.C., at the time of the capture of Zancle by the Samians and Milesians. Mr. Arthur Evans, who has given (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, p. 101, f.) an excellent account of this hoard, including a description of the present specimen (p. 101, No. 2; Pl. VIII. fig. 2), remarks that these pieces, with the reverse type in incuse, represent an earlier stage of the coinage of Zancle than any yet known, and may be as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C., when various cities of Magna Graecia began to issue their characteristic coins with the type of the obverse repeated in incuse on the reverse.⁷

MENDE (MACEDONIA).

4. *Obv.*—Ass (ithyphallic) advancing l. ; border of dots.

Rev.—Incuse square divided diagonally.

Æ. Size .55. Wt. 42 grs. [Pl. I. 3.]

5. *Obv.*—**M** Forepart of ass r. ; border of dots.

Rev.—Incuse square divided diagonally.

Æ. Size .25. Wt. 7.3 grs. [Pl. I. 4.]

(Cp. Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1896, Pl. II. 1, incuse varied.)

⁷ Another specimen was sold at Sotheby's, January 20th, 1898, lot 61.

6. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.

Rev.—[M] INΔ . . Head of ass r. (whole in incuse square?).

Æ. Size .25. Wt. 4.3 grs. [Pl. I. 5.]

Many new varieties of the curious coinage of Mende have come to light within the last twenty years, and several, chiefly the smaller denominations, have from time to time been published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, by Sir Hermann Weber, and by myself.⁸

ANTIGONUS (B.C. 306—301).

7. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet, adorned with serpent.

Rev.—ANTIGON[OY] Nike, winged, standing l., hold-
 BASILE[ΩΣ] in r. acrostolium; in l.
 trophy-stand (or *στύλις*?);
 wears long chiton and peplos
 wrapped round body: in
 field l., wreath. (Double-
 struck.)

Æ. Size .75. Wt. 132 grs. [Pl. I. 6.]

On this very rare stater⁹ Antigonus adopts the types of Alexander, but the Nike holds an acrostolium instead of the usual wreath. Mr. Head suggests that this variation in the type was intended to commemorate the naval

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 2, cp. p. 11: 1892, p. 6; 1893, p. 2; 1896, p. 15; 1898, p. 251 f. Besides *Hist. Num.* and the *Brit. Mus.* and *Berlin Catalogues*, see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 82 f.; *Num. Zeit.*, 1884, 243; *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. Num.*, 1884, 34 (Hirsch); *Z. f. N.*, x., 73 (Loebbecke); *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 275 (Greenwell).

⁹ A specimen is in the Hunter Collection (Macdonald, i., p. 336, Pl. XXIII. 14); see also the coin in Mion., *Sup.*, iii., p. 244, No. 587, Pl. XI. 1; cp. i., p. 576, No. 822.

victory off Salamis (Cyprus) in B.C. 306,¹⁰ when Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, defeated Ptolemy. After this engagement Antigonus and Demetrius each took the title *Βασιλεύς*.

In connexion with the wreath that appears in the field of the coin, it should be remembered that J. P. Six has proposed¹¹ to assign to Antigonus, as King of Babylon B.C. 317-311, a series of double-darics, &c., bearing a wreath, an object which he regards as the personal badge of Antigonus, like the anchor of Seleucus.

PHILIPPOPOLIS (THRACE).

8. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡCΕVΗ** **ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC**
Head of Caracalla r., laur. ; bearded.

Rev.— **ΚΟΙ**
ΝΟΝΘΡ
ΑΚΩΝΑΛΕ within laurel-wreath.
ΖΑΝΔΡΙΑ
ΕΝΦΙΛΙΠ
ΠΟΠΟΛΙ
ΠΥΘΙΑ

Æ. Size 1·2.

The Pythia, and the *Ἀλεξάνδρεια* (games in honour of Alexander the Great), are commemorated on many coins of Caracalla struck at Philippopolis with agonistic types. (See the Berlin and Brit. Mus. Catalogues.)

MAGNETES (THESSALY).

9. *Obv.*—**CΕΒΑC ΤΟC** Head of Nero r., laur. ; border of dots.

¹⁰ So Clinton and Droysen, *Gesch. der Diadochen*, p. 133, *note*. Kaerst (s.v. "Antigonos" in Pauly, *Real-Encyclop.*) assigns the battle to B.C. 307.

¹¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 219 f.

Rev.—**ΜΑΓ ΝΗ[ΤΩΝ]** The Centaur Cheiron r.;
r. hand outstretched; l. hand holds branch
resting on shoulder; beneath, **Μ**?

Æ. Size 65. [Pl. II. 1.]

(Purchased, Sale at Sotheby's, 13 March, 1899, lot 115.)

The coinage of Thessaly in Imperial times consists almost exclusively of bronze money, with names of Strategi, struck by the Thessali at Larissa.¹² The rare coin of the Magnetes here published must have been struck at Demetrias.

RHIZUS (THESSALY). ?

10. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Artemis ?); hair tied in knot behind; wears earring [and necklace ?].

Rev.—**ΠΙΙΟΥ . . . Ν** Star of ten rays.

Æ. Size 65. [Pl. I. 7.]

Four letters of this unpublished coin are indistinct. One would expect to find **ΠΙΙΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ**, but the sixth letter looks like the lower part of **Ξ**, and the seventh like **Α** (?); thus, **ΠΙΙΟΥΞΑΙΩΝ**. The coin is of brass, partly coated with a bright green patina. The style and fabric are suggestive of Thessaly, and the coin is apparently of Rhizus, a place situated in Magnesia. Rhizus is mentioned by Strabo (ix., p. 436; 443) and Stephanus Byz.: 'Ριζούς, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ριζούντιος.¹³ According to Strabo it was one of eight neighbouring *πολίχναι*, whose inhabitants were removed by

¹² Gardner, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, p. xxxii.

¹³ See also Scylax, § 65. Plin., *N.H.*, iv., 9, 16, "Oppida Meliboea, Rhizus," &c.

Demetrius Poliorcetes [in B.C. 290] to people his new foundation called Demetrias. In Strabo's own day, Rhizus was regarded as a village of Demetrias.

We should not have looked for a coinage at Rhizus,¹⁴ yet it may in reality have been of more importance than Strabo's mention implies, and have enjoyed a period of prosperity during the fourth century, the time to which this coin must belong.

The earliest coins of Demetrias have on the obverse a head of Artemis. (*Hist. Num.* p. 250.)

It is desirable to point out the resemblance that our coin bears in types and style to the coins of Issa, the island off the Illyrian coast. Three specimens are photographed in Brunšmid's *Inscripfen und Münzen der Griech. Städte Dalmatiens* (Wien, 1898), pl. iv. 63-65; p. 62. I was at first inclined to think that this might be a coin of the Illyrian town Rhizon in the variant form Rhizus.¹⁵ But the only civic coins of Rhizon at present published are two bronze pieces struck *circ.* B.C. 168 or later, and our coin shows no traces of the characteristic fabric of Illyrian money. The attribution to Thessaly, therefore, seems preferable.

ELEA (EPIRUS).

11. *Obv.*—Head of Demeter facing, wreathed with corn: in field 1., A

¹⁴ Mr. G. F. Hill thinks that we may recognise a coin of Rhizus in the bronze Thessalian piece first published by me in *Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 89 (*obv.* Head of Zeus, *rev.* Vine-branch with grapes). He proposes to read P[ΙΙΟΥ]ΞΙ[Ω]Ν.

¹⁵ Steph. Byz.: 'Ρίζων πόλις 'Ιλλυρίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὁμώνυμος. ὁ πολίτης 'Ρίζωνίτης. It may be inferred from Scylax, §§ 24, 25, that 'Ριζοῦς was an alternative form for the usual 'Ρίζων (Müller, *Geog. graec. min.*, i., pp. 31, 32, notes).

Rev.—[EΛE] ATAN Kerberos l. ; beneath, A ; concave field.

Æ.¹⁶ Size .8. [Pl. I. 9 *obv.*]

[Restruck on coin of Philip II of Macedon : on the *obv.* is visible the head of Apollo (Ares ?) r. ; on the *rev.*, Φ[Ι]ΛΙΠΠΟΥ, horseman.]

This coin is of the fourth century, earlier than the regal coinage of Epirus (which begins B.C. 342), but not earlier than B.C. 359, as is proved by its being restruck (as is also a specimen in the Berlin Museum) on a bronze coin of Philip of Macedon. Friedlaender (*Z. f. N.* vi. 15) points out that the correct reading is EΛEATAN, not EΛEAI[ΩN]. The cross-bar of the T is not clear on our coin, but is distinct on another Elean coin in the British Museum, acquired in 1891.

THEBES (B.C. 480—456).

12. *Obv.*—Bœotian shield.

Rev.—Amphora in incuse square.

Æ. Size .45. Wt. 45.3 grs. [Pl. I. 10.]

This denomination (the triobol) is new to the Museum, and is not mentioned in Head's *Coinage of Bœotia*, where (p. 23) the stater, drachm, and obol of the amphora type are described.

PAGÆ (MEGARIS).

13. *Obv.*—AV KMAVPKOMO . . . ANTΩ . . Head of Commodus r., laur.

¹⁶ The coin is of brass, and is covered, like several other coins of Elea, with a bluish-green patina, which forms a kind of glaze.

Rev.—ΠΑ ΓΑΙΩΝ Temple l., seen from front and side; on l., palm-tree; on r., olive-tree, on which owl is perched.

Size .95. [Pl. II. 3 *rev.*]

(Purchased, Sale at Sotheby's, 13 March, 1899, lot 125.)

The trees beside the temple may represent a grove within which the building stood, or may be sacred trees like the palm of Delos and the platanus of Gortyna. The owl (perched on the olive-tree as on the Imperial coins of Athens¹⁷) would rather seem to indicate that the temple is of Athena. But, on the other hand, the goddess is not otherwise known to have been connected with Pagae, the divinities of which were Isis, Cybele, Dionysos, Herakles, and Artemis Soteira.¹⁸ Probably the temple is of this Artemis, who appears to have been an important goddess at Pagae from the time of the Persian Wars onwards. At Pagae there was a statue of Artemis Soteira, modelled, apparently, upon the statue made by the sculptor Strongylion for the neighbouring Megara. This statue appears upon the coins, and in one case¹⁹ the goddess is represented in a temple, on each side of which (it is important to notice) is a tree, seemingly an olive-tree.

AEGIUM (ACHAIA).

14. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΜΑΥΡΑΝ ΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC[CE] Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass.

Rev.—ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ Asklepios, wearing himation over shoulder and lower limbs, seated r. on throne;

¹⁷ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus*, Pl. Z.

¹⁸ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 8 f.; p. 154.

¹⁹ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Pl. A. II.

r. hand on long sceptre ; l. hand open, resting on l. knee ; before him, serpent, head r., coiled round altar with conical top ; in exergue, **AC·Γ**.

Æ. Size 1·1. [Pl. II. 4 rev.]

15. *Obv.*—[**AVK**]MAVPANTΩ NEINOC[**CE**]B Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass.

Rev.—ΑΙΓΙ . . . Temple r., seen from front and side ; on r., before temple, two tall torches ; in exergue, **AC·Γ**.

Æ. Size 1·1. [Pl. II. 5 rev.]

16. *Obv.*—**AVK**MAVPANTΩ NEINOC**CEB** Bust of M. Aurelius r., laur., wearing cuirass. (Same die as No. 15.)

Rev.— ΩΝ On l.; female figure standing l.; wears chiton [and head-dress ?] ; r. hand on rudder ; l. hand holds cornucopiae ; on r., another female figure, wearing chiton, peplos, and modius, stands l.; r. hand extended ; l. hand holds cornucopiae ; in exergue, **AC·Γ**.

Æ. Size 1·1.

(These coins were purchased at Sotheby's, 13 March, 1899, lot 125. Each is partially covered with a reddish brown coating, and the three specimens probably come from the same "find." **AC·Γ** is the mark of value for three ἀσσάρια.²⁰ A similar indication occurs on the Imperial coins of Sparta (*Hist. Num.*, p. 365).)

The reverse of No. 14 is here photographed as an interesting type in somewhat better preservation than the specimen in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, Pl. R. IX. On a companion coin (Pl. R. X.), Hygieia

²⁰ The **ACI** of the coin of Aegium, figured in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, Pl. R. VII, p. 83, should, I imagine, be read **AC·Γ**.

stands feeding the serpent coiled round the altar, and on a third coin of Aegium (Pl. R. XI.), the Asklepios and the Hygieia are grouped together with the snake-encircled altar between them. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner have already pointed out that with the aid of these coins we may reproduce the group of Asklepios and Hygieia made for Aegium by Damophon of Messene (Paus. vii. 23, 7).²¹

Near the temple and temenos of Asklepios there stood (according to the description of Pausanias, vii. 23, 5) an ancient temple of Eileithyia, containing a statue of the goddess by the same Damophon. This goddess is represented on the coins of Aegium (*Num. Comm. Paus.* p. 83 f.) holding a torch in each hand, and there can be no doubt that it is her temple that is represented on our coin No. 15. The torches standing (like two gigantic maypoles) before the temple were probably erected on the occasion of some festival. They recall the large torches seen on the Imperial coins of Megara,²² Byzantium,²³ Pergamum and Cyzicus.²⁴

No. 16 is similar to a coin published by Kenner (*St. Florian*, p. 59; pl. ii. 8),²⁵ who calls the figures Isis (on l.) and Sarapis (on r.). But the figure on the right is certainly female, as the dress on our specimen proves.

²¹ On Damophon, see A. S. Murray, ii., 246; E. Gardner, p. 400 f.; Collignon, ii., 626 f. He is usually assigned to the fourth century B.C.; Collignon thinks that he worked in the first half of the second century B.C.

²² *Num. Comm. Paus.*, Pl. A. XII., XIII.

²³ Svoronos in *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1889, pp. 84-87.

²⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, Index ii., s.v. Torches.

²⁵ Kenner's description is repeated in *Num. Comm. Paus.*, p. 88.

APTERA (CRETE).

17. *Obv.*—**ΗΩΙΑΦΑΤΠΑ**. Head of Artemis of Aptera l., wearing earring (necklace?) and stephane; hair rolled.

Rev.—**[ΞΟ]Χ [ΙΟ]ΙΛΟΤΤ** Warrior (Apteros or Pteras) standing l., wearing helmet, (sword?) and cuirass; in l. hand spear and shield ornamented (with star?); r. hand raised to salute tree before him; circular incuse.

Æ. Size 1. Wt. 171 grs. [**Pl. I. 8.**]

This specimen was acquired in Crete, and formed lot 126 in the sale at Sotheby's on January 20th, 1898. The obverse is from the same die as a coin in the British Museum, published *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 128, No. 17.²⁶

The model for the head of Artemis on the didrachms of Aptera was evidently furnished by the skilful engraver Pythodorus, who signs the coin in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Crete*, Pl. II. 3. This was copied and somewhat simplified by less competent workmen (*Ib.* Pl. II. 4, 5), the present coin being one of the best of the copies. The mouth and chin have suffered a little through double striking.

POLYRHENIUM (CRETE).

18. *Obv.*—**[ΓΥΘΘΔ]ΩΡΟΥ** Head of Artemis Diktynna l., wearing earring and necklace.

Rev.—Bull's head facing, bound with fillet.

Æ. Size .65. Wt. 33 grs. [**Pl. I. 11.**]

This specimen is restruck on a coin of Argos of the period, B.C. 350-228 (Gardner, *B. M. Cat. Peloponnesus*, p.

²⁶ The coin is poorly preserved: the reading on the *obv.* can now be corrected by our new coin to **ΗΩΙΑΦΑΤ[ΠΑ]**.

140*f*). On the obverse the forepart of the wolf l. is clearly seen, and on the reverse are remains of the large A with letters above it and the incuse square. Polyrhenian coins of this type are nearly always restruck, generally on money of Argos (*see* Svoronos, *Crète*, pp. 278, 279). As is well known, the slovenly practice of stamping Cretan types on the coins of other countries (Cyrene, Argolis, &c.) prevailed everywhere in the island, even when (as here) the dies had been prepared by a capable engraver (Pythodorus).²⁷

DELOS.

19. *Obv.*—Lyre.

Rev.—I Λ H Δ between the spokes of a wheel.

Æ. Size .35. Wt. 5 grs. [Pl. I. 12.]

A specimen of this scarce coin was in the collection of Mr. H. P. Borrell, who described it (without an illustration) in the *Num. Chron.* V. p. 175. The date may possibly be earlier than *circ.* B.C. 480, though certainly later than the coins with *obv.* Δ and lyre (*rev.* incuse square) attributed by Sir Hermann Weber to Delos.²⁸ The wheel is a remarkable type for Delos, and Borrell's assertion that it refers to the worship of Apollo requires proof. It might be worth while to bring together and discuss the various wheel-types that occur on coins.

AMISUS (PONTUS).

20. *Obv.*—CABEINA CEBACTH Head of Sabina r., draped.

Rev.—AMICOVEΛEVOΘE PACETOVCPIZ (year "167," dating from era B.C. 31 = A.D. 136).

²⁷ Cp. *B. M. Cat., Crete*, p. xxiv.

²⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 201; cp. Six, *N.C.*, 1895, p. 179 (owl type).

Sabina as Homonoia (Concordia²⁹), wearing stephane, chiton, and peplos, standing l.; in r. hand, patera; l. arm rests on column.

R. Size .8. Wt. 38.6. [Pl. II. 6.]

LAMPSACUS (MYSIA).

21. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Priapus r., wreathed with ivy; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΑΜΨΑ r.; in exergue, [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΤΟΥ
[Κ]ΗΝΩΝ l. [ΔΗ]ΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΤΟΥ
· ΚΑΛΟ ·

Apollo Citharoedus standing r.; in r., plectrum; in l., lyre; in field l., Ψ; in field r., bow and arrow.

R. Size 1.1. Wt. 245.9 grs.³⁰ [Pl. II. 7 *obv.*]

Tetradrachms of this type (doubtless struck soon after the battle of Magnesia, B.C. 190) are still rare. Yet it is probable that there was a not inconsiderable issue, as extant specimens give us the names of four different magistrates, each with the patronymic.³¹

DARDANUS (TROAD).

22. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΑΙΑΣΕΤΤ ΚΕΟΒΗΡΟCΤ Bust of Sept. Severus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; before head, countermark, female figure l.

Rev.—ΕΤΙΑΡΧ ΑΥΡΗ . . . Κ[or N?]ΟΥ Bull r. approaching lighted altar, before which stands r. a draped figure holding in r. patera; in l. staff (?) resting on shoulder; behind altar, tall column,

²⁹ Cp. Cohen, *Monn. imp.* ii., p. 248 (Roman coins of Sabina with "Concordia" types).

³⁰ Struck on a somewhat thick *flan*, too small for the die.

³¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, "Lampsacus," No. 68; Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, Nos. 884, 885.

on which a bird (eagle ?) is seated l. ; in ex.,
ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙ ΩΝ

Æ. Size 1·45. [Pl. II. 8 rev.]

This rare coin is probably identical with one published in Vaillant's *Numismata Graeca* (= Mion. II. p. 656, No. 180), p. 81, with engraving in the appendix :—*Reverse*. “**ΕΠΙΑΡΧ ΦΙΛΙ ΠΠΟΥ** in ex., **ΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΩ Ν** Aquila supra columnam, ad cujus imum ara ignita, ante quam sacerdos succinctus d. pateram, humero sinistro baculum ; prope taurus.”

The reading **ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ** is, I think, to be suspected. On our coin **ΑΥΡΗ** (occupying the same position as Vaillant's **ΦΙΛΙ**) is certain, though the rest of the legend is doubtful. The type may perhaps be explained as a sacrifice to Zeus by the Emperor.

Cos.

23. *Obv.*—**ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ** [**ΣΕΒΑΣΘΕΑΟΥ**]³² Bust of Faustina the younger r., draped ; head bare.

Rev.—**ΚΩΙ ΩΝ** Female figure standing l. ; r. hand extends patera to serpent coiled round altar ; in outstretched l. hand, wreath.

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. II. 9.]

(Purchased, Sale at Sotheby's, 13 March, 1899, lot 146.)

The bracketed portion of the legend is somewhat obscure, but probably reads as given above. The Latin equivalent would be “Faustina Augusta divi Antonini filia.”

The reverse type is not the usual representation of Hygieia (as seen, *e.g.*, in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Caria*, “Cos,”

³² Σεβαστή θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου θυγάτηρ. Cp. **ΟΥΓ** on coins of Faustina II of Alexandria (*B. M. Cat.*, No. 1322).

No. 246), but may be described as Faustina herself in the character of Hygieia, or rather of Salus. The Roman money of Faustina of the "Salus" type shows the serpent coiled round an altar as here (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, Faustina II, No. 195 f.).

MAGYDUS (PAMPHYLIA).

24. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑ[Ρ ?] ΑΙΤΩΝΙ ΝΟΣ Head of M. Aurelius r., laur.

Rev.—ΜΑΓΥΔΕ ΩΙ Athena, wearing helmet and chiton, standing to front, looking l.; in r., Nike with wreath; in l., spear supporting shield; before her, serpent; in field, l., Κ.

Æ. Size .75.

I take this opportunity of giving a list (rather fuller than any yet published) of the numerals that appear on the coins of Magydus.³³ Specimens from Domitian to Gallienus are marked with numerals that form a progressive series through the period in which they occur. The peculiarity (as Waddington has pointed out) is that these numerals do not indicate regular intervals: they are not regnal years, nor do they belong to any regular era. Waddington suggests that the coins were struck on the occasion of public games which took place at varying intervals. Another alternative would be to suppose that the numbers represent successive issues of the coinage, but it seems unlikely that different coinages would be indicated by a running number covering such a long period as that from Domitian to Gallienus. It may be noted that a

³³ For previous lists see Waddington, *Voy. en As. Min.*, p. 91; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 680; Hill, *B. M. Cat., Lycia, &c.*, p. lxxvii.

frequent though not invariable type on the numbered coins is Athena Nikephoros.

Numerals on Coins of Magydus.

Domitian	IB (W.) ³⁴
Trajan	IA (B.M.); IE (W.) ³⁵
Hadrian	IH (W.)
Antoninus Pius	IΘ (B.M.)
M. Aurelius	K (B.M.) ³⁶
L. Verus	K (W.)
Commodus	K (Loebbecke, <i>Z. f. N.</i> , xii. 326); KA (B.M.) ³⁷
Crispina	KA (W.)
Sept. Severus	KB (Imhoof, <i>op. cit.</i>)
J. Domna	KB (B.M.)
Caracalla, Geta	—
Macrinus	KΔ (W.); KS (W.)
Elagabalus	—
Sev. Alexander	KΘ (B.M.)
Maximinus I	ΛA (W.)
Gordian I—III	—
Philip, jun.	ΛE (W.); ΛZ (W.)
Trajan Decius	—
Treb. Gallus	ΛH (W.)
Volusian	ΛH (W.)
Valerian I	—
Gallienus	ΛΘ (B.M.); MA (B.M.)
Salonina	ΛΘ (W.)

Without attempting a minute analysis of this list, I may point out that the coins with **K** must have been struck at

³⁴ W = Waddington Collection, see Babelon's *Inventaire*, p. 181 f. B.M. = Brit. Mus. On the coin of Domitian in the Brit. Mus., **H** has been doubtfully read (Hill, *Cat.*, *Lycia*, p. 115, No. 1), but this numeral is very obscure, and is one that is unlikely to occur under Domitian. Probably it is **IB**.

³⁵ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvii., gives also **IB**?

³⁶ Leake, *Num. Hell.*, Sup., p. 68, gives a coin of Aurelius with **KZ**. There is probably some mistake in the description.

³⁷ Brit. Mus., acquired in 1898. On *obv.*, **AVTKAIA**—**OC**. Head of young Commodus r.

some time in the period 12th October, 166—January 169. For **K** occurs on the coins of M. Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus, and cannot be *later* than January, 169, the date of the death of Verus, nor can it be *earlier* than October, 166, when Commodus became Cæsar. **KA** occurs both on coins of Commodus and Crispina. It cannot be earlier than A.D. 178, the date of Crispina's marriage, nor later than 182, the date of her banishment.³⁸

The numbers **KΔ**, **KS** (and no doubt also a no longer extant **KΕ**), are remarkable as occurring in the short reign of Macrinus, *i.e.*, between 11th April, 217, and July, 218.

ANTIOCHIA (PISIDIA).

25. *Obv.*—**IMPCAESMANTGORDIANVSAV** Bust of Gordian III r., radiate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**FORTVNACOL CCESANTIOC** In exergue, **ΛΕΙ**; in field, **SR** Fortuna of Antioch, wearing chiton, peplos, and modius, seated r. on rock; r. hand rests on knee; l. holds ears of corn; at her feet, river-god (Anthios) swimming r.

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. II. 11. rev.]

The "Fortuna" or "Genius" of Antioch is represented on other coins of the city as a standing female figure holding branch and cornucopiæ,³⁹ or as sacrificing in a temple.⁴⁰ In this case the representation resembles the famous group by Eutychides of the Tyche of the Syrian Antioch and the Orontes.⁴¹

³⁸ For these dates see Klebs, *Prosopographia*, Pt. i., p. 242.

³⁹ Hill, Cat. *Lycia*, pp. 180, 181, Pl. XXXI. 7.

⁴⁰ Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, No. 3,605, Pl. VIII. 2.

⁴¹ Wroth, Cat. *Galatia*, p. lxi.

The reverse legend appears to be blundered. COL C perhaps = COLO(niae). CES = CAESARIAE.⁴² ANTIOC with the letters in the exergue may be intended for ANTIOCHIAE.

COLBASSA (PISIDIA).

26. *Obv.*—**AV KAI[CAP?] ANTΩNEIN[OC?]** Head of Antoninus Pius r., laur.

Rev.—**KO ΛBA CEΩN** Mên, wearing short chiton, Phrygian cap, and crescent at shoulder, standing l.; in outstretched r., patera; l. hand on long sceptre.

Æ. Size .7. [Pl. II. 12 *rev.*]

The coins of Colbassa⁴³ are rare, and the present specimen is unpublished. The following (all Æ) are now known :—

Antoninus Pius.

Rev.—**KOΛBACEΩN** Apollo standing. Paris. (*Invent. Waddington*, No. 3,671.)

Rev.—**KOΛBACEΩN** Mên. Brit. Mus. (See No. 26, *supra*.)

Sept. Severus.

Rev.—**KOΛBACEΩN** Dionysos standing. Berlin. (*Dressel, Z. f. N.*, xxi., p. 223.)

Severus Alexander.

Rev.—**KOΛBACCΕΩN** "Ares debout." Paris. (*Invent. Waddington*, No. 3,672.)⁴⁴

⁴² Cp. Babelon, *op. cit.*, No. 3,606.

⁴³ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i., 327; Hill, *Cat. Lycia*, p. cxi.

⁴⁴ Cp. Huber's specimen in *Berl. Blätter*, ii., 184; sold at Huber Sale, London, Sotheby's, 1862, lot 667, fig. 667, and purchased by Curt, the coin-dealer, for £8 10s.

J. Mamaea.

Rev.—**ΚΟΛΒΑCCEΩΝ** Star in crescent. Paris.
(Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p. 339.)

On the earlier coins the spelling with one **C** seems to be the rule, as in the **Κολβασα** of Hierocles. The star and crescent may be explained as referring to Mên.

POGLA (PISIDIA).

27. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΚ . Π . ΛΙ . ΓΑΛΙΗΝΟΕ** (*sic*). Bust of Gallienus r., laur.; wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**ΠΩΓ ΛΕΩΝ** Distyle arched shrine, containing simulacrum of the Pergæan Artemis.

Æ. Size .85.

The latest coin of Pogla previously known was of Trebonianus Gallus (Hill, *Cat. Lycia*, &c., p. xcviii.).

SELEUCIA (PISIDIA).

(CLAUDIO - SELEUCIA.)

28. *Obv.*—**ΦΟΥΛ . ΠΛΑ ΥΤΙΑ . CEB** Bust of Plautilla r.

Rev.—**ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ** Hygieia, wearing chiton and peplos, standing r.; r. hand holds serpent, which she feeds from vase held in her l. hand. (Cp. Mion., Sup., vii., p. 129, No. 185, from Vaillant.)

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. II. 10.]

VERBE (PISIDIA).

29. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΚΜΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ C** Bust of Caracalla r., laur.

Rev.—**ΟΥΕΡΒΙ ΑΝΩΝ** Young Dionysos, wearing chlamys and boots, standing l.; in r., kantharos; l. supports thyrsos; before him, panther.

Æ. Size 1. [Pl. II. 13 *rev.*]

30. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΚΜΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC** Bust of Gordian III r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**ΟΥΕΡΒΙ ΑΝΩΝ** Tyche, wearing chiton, peplos and modius, standing l.; in r., rudder; in l., cornucopiae.

Æ. Size .95.

The coinage of Verbe,⁴⁵ which some years ago was almost unknown, is now proving to be somewhat extensive. Caracalla and Gordian III are unpublished emperors. Dionysos occurs on coins of Commodus⁴⁶ and Philip jun. (Brit. Mus. Cat.), and Tyche on a coin of Domna.

DEMETRIUS II, Nicator, of Syria.

B.C. 130-125 (Second Reign).

31. *Obv.*—Head of Demetrius II, r., bearded; wears diadem; bead and reel border.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟC** The so-called "monument of Sardanapalus"; in field l., 

Æ. Size 1.2. Wt. 257 grs. [Pl. I. 13.]

This very rare tetradrachm is similar to the specimen in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings*, p. 78, No. 22, Pl. xxi., 6, but is in much finer preservation. The reverse type has been discussed by Imhoof-Blumer, *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, xviii. (1898), p. 169 f., and by Hill, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cilicia*, p. lxxxv. f. (Cp. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. clvi. f.)

⁴⁵ See Hill, B.M. Cat. *Lycia*, &c., p. xevii. Cp. N.C. 1863, p. 104.

⁴⁶ Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p. 342; *Inventaire Waddington*, No. 4,035.

CLEOPATRA AND ANTIOCHUS VIII (GRYPUS) OF SYRIA.

B.C. 125-121.

32. *Obv.*—Heads, r., jugate, of Cleopatra, wearing diadem, stephane, and veil, and of Antiochus VIII, wearing diadem; bead and reel border.

Rev.—[BA]ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ[Σ] “Monument of Sardana-
[K]ΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ palus”; in field, l., ;
καὶ in exergue, 
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

Æ. Size 1·1. Wt. 256·6 grs. [Pl. I. 14.]

The usual reverse type of Cleopatra and Antiochus is an eagle, or the seated Zeus.

HEROD PHILIP II (TETRARCH).

33. *Obv.*—ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡ Head of
Tiberius r., bare; in front, branch of laurel.

Rev.—ΕΠΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΤΕ]ΤΡ ΑΡΧΟΥΚΤΙΣ
Tetrastyle temple r., between the columns of
which L Λ Δ = year 34 = A.D. 30-31.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. II. 14.]

A comparison of this specimen with the coins of Herod Philip II described in Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, p. 123 f., will show that it is new in several respects. The date “34” fills part of the gap between “33” and “37,” the years hitherto known. The usual inscription is ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, without the addition of ΕΠΙ. ΚΤΙΣ(του) is also a new epithet, referring to the foundation or refoundation of a city in Philip's tetrarchy, possibly Julius (Beth-saida), but more probably Caesarea Philippi (the older Caesarea Panias).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Cp. B. M. Cat. *Galatia*, p. lxxx.

PTOLEMY I.

34. *Obv.*—Head of Alexander the Great r., with horn of Ammon, elephant's skin and ægis; border of dots.

Rev.—ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Athena Alkis r.; in front, eagle r. on thunderbolt; behind, caduceus; border of dots.

Æ. (thick fabric). Size 1. Wt. 242·5 grs.
[Pl. I. 15.]

This coin was lot 821 in the Hoffmann Sale, Paris, 1898. It is remarkable for reading ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ instead of ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, usual on the money of these types, and must have been issued between B.C. 311, the date of the death of Alexander IV., and B.C. 305, when Ptolemy assumed the regal title.

WARWICK WROTH.

II.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS AND GOLD RINGS AT SULLY, NEAR CARDIFF.

(See Plate III.)

THE find of Roman gold and silver coins and gold rings, of which an account is here given, was made in October of last year at Sully, near Cardiff. The following particulars respecting the discovery of the find were communicated by H.M. Treasury, when its contents were forwarded to the British Museum as treasure-trove for examination; and further information was supplied to the *Western Mail* by Mr. John Storrie, of Cardiff, into whose hands the greater portion of the hoard passed shortly after its being unearthed.

From information supplied to H.M. Treasury by the Coroner of the district, it appears that on the 17th October last, whilst a labourer, named Jezer Long, was digging foundations for the Armstrong Pioneer Syndicate Company on the Sully Moors, near Cardiff, he turned up an old metal vessel, which he found to contain many Roman coins and jewellery. The vessel, which was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, broke under his spade. Long was working with a mate, and at the time there were two other men watching them. As soon as he struck the find, Long fell bodily upon it and at once began to fill his pockets. He took all the gold articles, he believed; but one of the

onlookers, a bricklayer, also in the service of the Company, got possession of a gold ring. This man is now employed by the Company in Paris. Subsequently Long got into communication with Mr. John Storrie, of 104, Frederick Street, Cardiff, the local antiquary, who gave him £18 18s. for his treasure-trove. About 20 or 30 feet from the place where the treasure was found a human skull was unearthed. A portion of the hoard, consisting of a gold ring, a gold coin, and 21 other coins in silver, came into the possession of the steward of the Lord of the Manor, who claimed them for his master. On the coroner deciding that these objects were also treasure-trove, they were given up, and forwarded, with the other portion of the find, to H.M. Treasury, and from thence they came to the British Museum.

A few days after Mr. Storrie got possession of his portion of the hoard he sent a communication to the *Western Mail* under date 26 October, 1899, of which the following are the chief points. After giving a description of the district in which the coins and rings were found, he says, "A faint rumour got my length that old coins had been found somewhere. I spent the day in endeavouring to trace the origin of the rumour, and had given up the attempt, as I have had to do in many other instances, when a visitor entered my office. Instantly, before he had spoken, although I had never seen him or he me, I knew he knew what he knew, as the saying is; so it is needless to describe the bargaining between two men, who want each to get some advantage over the other. The share of three of the men out of the four who had found the coins and rings came into my possession, the fourth man having taken himself off to Liverpool. I am now endeavouring to trace this por-

tion of the hoard and the missing man. My reason for doing so is that, unless immediate action is taken, when one of these finds occurs, the things get scattered, and no record is kept; so that the lesson they may teach is lost. I have noted to the authorities my possession of treasure-trove in this case, and will now keep it till it is safely placed in some public collection, where all such finds should go." Mr. Storrie then gives a long description of the coins and rings, accompanied by some very fair illustrations of the more important pieces. The portion of the hoard secured by Mr. Storrie consisted of 280 silver and 4 gold Roman coins and 3 gold rings. By his prompt and very commendable action Mr. Storrie has enabled us to place on record one of the most interesting finds of Roman coins and rings which has been made in recent times, and thus the object which he had in view has been attained.

The following is a summary of the find. It has not been considered necessary, in this communication to the Society, to keep separate the coins and rings secured by Mr. Storrie from those which were obtained by the steward of the Lord of the Manor.

GOLD COINS.

Diocletian . . .	Aureus . . .	1
Maximian Herculius . . .	„ . . .	4
		— 5

SILVER COINS.

Marcus Aurelius . . .	Denarius . . .	1
Septimius Severus . . .	„ . . .	5
Julia Domna . . .	„ . . .	6
Caracalla . . .	„ . . .	12
„ . . .	Antoninianus . . .	1
		—
Carried forward . . .		25

	Brought forward . . .	25
Geta . . .	Denarius . . .	1
Macrinus . . .	Antoninianus . . .	1
Elagabalus . . .	Denarii . . .	20
" . . .	Antoniniani . . .	3
Julia Paula . . .	Denarii . . .	2
Julia Soaemias . . .	" . . .	3
Julia Maesa . . .	" . . .	2
Severus Alexander . . .	" . . .	27
Orbiana . . .	" . . .	1
Maximinus I . . .	" . . .	5
Julia Mamaea . . .	" . . .	6
Gordian III . . .	" . . .	1
" . . .	Antoniniani . . .	43
Philip I . . .	" . . .	19
Otacia Severa . . .	" . . .	3
Philip II . . .	" . . .	5
Trajan Decius . . .	" . . .	10
Etruscilla . . .	" . . .	1
Herennius Etruscus . . .	" . . .	4
Trebonianus Gallus . . .	" . . .	10
Volusian . . .	" . . .	4
Valerian I . . .	" . . .	7
Gallienus . . .	" . . .	36
Salonina . . .	" . . .	15
Saloninus . . .	" . . .	20
Valerian II . . .	" . . .	7
Postumus . . .	" . . .	18
Carausius . . .	Denarius . . .	1
Uncertain . . .	" . . .	1

— 301

Besides the above, there were the four gold rings, and I would further add to the number of gold coins two others—the double aureus of Diocletian, No. 1 in the descriptions, and the aureus of Maximian Herculus, No. 4, which have come under my notice, and which, from information recently received, I have every reason to suppose formed a portion of the hoard.¹

¹ In addition to these, fifteen silver pieces have also been reported as having been in the hoard. They are as follows:—

The list shows that the gold coins and those of silver belong to separate periods. With one exception, that of Carausius, the silver coins range from A.D. 180 (the year of the 34th tribuneship of Marcus Aurelius), to *circ.* A.D. 267, the last year of the reign of Postumus, supposing some of his undated coins to have been struck as late as that year. The gold coins range from A.D. 286 to about A.D. 306, if we are right in supposing that one of those of Maximian may have been issued after the resignation of Diocletian, in A.D. 305. It is quite easy to account for the coins of the two metals being of distinct periods. The original owner of the hoard, who concealed it in the earth, must have desired only to possess coins and other objects of the finer metals, and in this manner the baser pieces which were current after A.D. 267 were excluded from his treasure.

As the majority of the silver coins are of the later part of the first half of the third century they are chiefly *antoniniani*, which, as is well known, were first struck under Caracalla; but of this Emperor the hoard contained only a single specimen. These pieces are distinguished from the denarii in being of larger size, in showing the Emperor wearing a radiate crown, whilst

Severus Alexander, as No. 78; Gordian III, as Nos. 93, 116; Valerian I, (i) *Rev.*—ORIENS AVGG. Sol running l., holding whip (*Cohen*, No. 135); (ii) SALVS AVGG. Salus feeding serpent and holding sceptre (*Cohen*, No. 196); Gallienus, as Nos. 167, 170; and (i) *Rev.*—FIDES MILITVM. Eagle standing on globe between two standards (*Cohen*, No. 249); and (ii) *Rev.*—VIRT. GALLIENI AVG. Emperor, armed with spear and shield, striding to r. over fallen captive (*Cohen*, No. 1206); Salonina, as No. 175; Saloninus, as No. 180; Postumus, as Nos. 193, 195; and (i) *Rev.*—VIRTVS EQVIT. Soldier walking r. with spear and shield; in exergue, T. (*Cohen*, No. 440).

under the bust of the Empress is a crescent. The single coin of Carausius having a laureate head shows a return to the denarius class.

Following a very good precedent, I now append a more detailed account of the hoard. With the exception of the denarius of Carausius, the reverse types only of the silver pieces are given, with references to the second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, any varieties not recorded by Cohen being specially noted. Of the gold coins, however, full descriptions of both obverse and reverse type are supplied, together with the weight in grains troy, of each piece.

GOLD.

DIOCLETIAN.

Double Aureus.

- | | Cohen. | No. |
|--|--------|-----|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. G. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS
P. F. AVG. Bust of Diocletian r.,
with radiate crown and slight drapery
over his shoulders. <i>Rev.</i> —PERPETVA
FELICITAS AVGG. (in exergue) P. R.
Jupiter standing l., places his r. foot on
the back of a kneeling captive : he holds
in his r. hand a thunderbolt, resting his
arm on his knee, and with his l. hand he
leans on a sceptre : Victory advances
towards him, and offers him a globe with
both hands. Wt. 199·2 grs. <i>Unpub-</i>
<i>lished.</i> [Pl. III. 1.] — 1 | | |

Aureus.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. G. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS
P. F. AVG. Bust of Diocletian r.,
laureate, wearing cuirass and mantle on
l. shoulder. <i>Rev.</i> —IOVI CONSERVAT.
AVGG. (in exergue) P. R. Jupiter stand-
ing l., his mantle hanging down behind,
holding thunderbolt. Wt. 81·8 grs.
[Pl. III. 2.] 208 1 | | |
| | | 2 |
| Carried forward | | 2 |

Brought forward 2

MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS.

Aurei.

	Cohen.	No.
3. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. M. AVR. VAL. MAXIMIA- NVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Maximian r., with radiate crown, and wearing paluda- mentum and cuirass. <i>Rev.</i> —IOVI CON- SERVAT. AVGG. Jupiter standing l., his mantle hanging down behind, holding thunderbolt and sceptre. Wt. 86·5 grs. [Pl. III. 3.]	348	1
4. Similar; but the bust less draped, the paluda- mentum showing on l. shoulder only, and on the reverse in the exergue S. M. T. Wt. 80·5 grs. [Pl. III. 4.]		1
5. <i>Obv.</i> —MAXIMIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head of Maximian r., laureate. <i>Rev.</i> P. M. TR. P. P.P. Armed figure, Maxen- tius(?), standing l. between four standards, two on either side; spear in l. hand. Wt. 102·0 grs. [Pl. III. 5.]	467	1
6. <i>Obv.</i> —VIRTVS MAXIMIANI AVG. Bust of Maximian r., laureate, wearing cuirass, and holding one spear in r. hand and two spears and shield in l. <i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG.; (in exergue) P. R. Hercules r. strangling the lion; behind him, club. Wt. 91·0 grs. [Pl. III. 6.]	591	1
7. <i>Obv.</i> —MAXIMIANVS AVG. Head of Maxi- mian r., laureate. <i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG.; (in exergue) TR. Hercules r., seizing stag by the horns. Wt. 87·0 grs. [Pl. III. 7.]	596	1
	—	5
		—
		7
		==

SILVER.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Denarius.

8. P. M. TR. P. XXXIIII. IMP. X. COS. III. P. P. Fortuna seated l., holding rudder and cornucopiæ	972	1
	—	1
Carried forward		1

Brought forward 1

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Denarii.

	Cohen.	No.
9. FVNDATOR PACIS. Emperor l., veiled, holding branch and book	203	1
10. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P. Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	379	1
11. P. M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. P. P. Abundantia standing l., holding ears of corn and cornucopiæ; at her feet, modius	476	1
12. RESTITVTOR VRBIS. Roma seated l., holding palladium and sceptre	606	1
13. VICT. AVGG. COS. II. P. P. Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm	694	1
	—	5

JULIA DOMNA.

Denarii.

14. DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana standing l., holding torch	27	1
15. FECVNDITAS. Fecunditas seated r., nurs- ing Geta; Caracalla standing before her	42	1
16. IVNO. Juno standing l., holding patera and sceptre; at her feet, peacock	82	1
17. LAETITIA. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and rudder	101	1
18. PIETAS PVBLICA. Pietas standing l., before altar, both hands raised	156	1
19. VESTAE SANCTAE. Vesta standing l., holding patera and sceptre	246	1
	—	6

CARACALLA.

Denarii.

20. DESTINAT. IMPERAT. Sacrificial instru- ments with bucranium in centre	53	1
21. FELICITAS AVGG. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	61	1
	—	—
Carried forward	2	12

Brought forward		Cohen.	No.	
		.	2	12
22. INDVLGENTIA AVGG. IN. CARTH.				
Carthage seated on lion, galloping r.;				
behind, rock	97	1		
23. MARTI PROPVGNATORI. Mars walking				
l., holding spear and trophy	150	1		
24. MARTI VLTORI. Mars walking r., holding				
spear and trophy	154	1		
25. PART. MAX. PONT. TR. P. IIII. Trophy				
and captives	175	1		
26. P. M. TR. P. XV. COS. III. P. P. Sarapis				
standing l., holding spear	195	1		
27. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. IIII. P. P.				
Aesculapius standing towards l., holding				
serpent-staff; globe at his feet	302	1		
28. PONTIF. TR. P. X. COS. II. Caracalla				
standing r., holding spear and parazonium;				
foot on helmet	440	1		
29. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Pallas standing				
towards l., holding shield and spear	566	2		
30. SECVRIT. ORBIS. Securitas seated r.,				
holding sceptre; before her, altar	574	1		
<i>Antoninianus.</i>				
31. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. IIII. P. P. Jupiter				
standing r., holding thunderbolt and				
sceptre	278	1		
		—	13	
<i>GETA.</i>				
<i>Denarius.</i>				
32. SECVRIT. IMPERII. Securitas seated l.,				
holding globe	183	1		
		—	1	
<i>MACRINUS.</i>				
<i>Antoninianus.</i>				
33. IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter standing				
l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre;				
before him, Emperor	38	1		
		—	1	
Carried forward				27

Brought forward 27

ELAGABALUS.

Denarii.

	Cohen.	No.
34. ABVNDANTIA AVG. Abundantia standing l., emptying her cornucopiæ; behind her, star	1	1
35. CONCORDIA MILIT. Four standards	15	1
36. CONSVL. I. P. P. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ	21	1
37. INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG. Elagabalus standing l. before altar, holding patera and club; near altar, bull; before Emperor, star	61	2
38. LAETITIA PVBL. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and rudder	70	1
39. PAX AVGVSTI. Pax walking l., holding branch and sceptre	120	2
40. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Sol running l., holding whip	153	2
41. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P. Victory l., holding wreath; at her feet, two shields	194	1
42. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P. Elagabalus sacrificing at altar; branch in l. hand; before him, star	196	1
43. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. IIII. P. P. Similar type	213	1
44. PROVID. DEORVM. Providentia standing l., holding staff and cornucopiæ; globe at her feet	242	1
45. SACER. DEI SOLIS ELAGAB. Elagabalus standing r. and sacrificing before an altar	246	1
46. SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG. Elagabalus holding patera and branch, standing l. and sacrificing at altar; before him, star	276	1
47. TEMPORVM FEL. Felicitas standing l., holding patera and caduceus	278	1
Carried forward	17	27

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward		17 27
48. TEMPORVM FELICITAS. Felicitas stand- ing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ .	282	1
49. VICTORIA AVG. Victory flying l., holding fillet; before her, star; at her feet, two shields	299	1
50. Similar; but star behind Victory . . .		1

Antoniniani.

51. FIDES MILITVM. Fides standing facing, holding two standards	39	1
52. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear	138	1
53. VICTOR. ANTONINI AVG. Victory walk- ing r., holding wreath and palm	291	1
	—	23

JULIA PAULA.

Denarii.

54. CONCORDIA. Concordia seated l., holding patera; before her, star	6	1
55. VENVS GENETRIX. Venus seated l., holding globe and sceptre	21	1
	—	2

JULIA SOAEMIAS.

Denarii.

56. VENVS CAELESTIS. Venus standing l., holding apple and sceptre; on r., star . .	10	1
57. VENVS CAELESTIS. Venus seated l., holding apple and sceptre	14	2
	—	3

JULIA MAESA.

Denarii.

58. PVDICITIA. Pudicitia seated l., holding sceptre	36	1
59. SAECVLI FELICITAS. Felicitas standing l., sacrificing at altar and holding cadu- ceus; on r., star	45	1
	—	2
Carried forward		57

Brought forward 57

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Denarii.

	Cohen.	No.
60. AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ	9	1
61. ANNONA AVG. Annona standing l., holding ears of corn and cornucopiæ; before her, modius	28	3
62. FIDES MILITVM. Fides standing l., holding two standards	52	1
63. Similar, Fides seated	51	1
64. IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter standing l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre; before him, Emperor	73	1
65. MARTI PACIFERO. Mars standing l., holding branch and reversed spear	173	1
66. P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P. Same type.	207	1
67. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Salus seated l., feeding serpent, rising from altar	239	2
68. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.	236	1
69. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. Emperor standing l., holding globe and reversed spear	256	2
70. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	254	1
71. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. Salus seated l., feeding serpent, rising from altar	255	1
72. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. P. P. Mars walking r., holding spear and trophy	260	1
73. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	281	1
74. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. Emperor standing l., sacrificing at altar; book in l. hand	289	1
75. P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ.	312	1
Carried forward	20	57

	Cohen.	No.	
Brought forward		20	57
76. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. COS. III. P. P. Sol standing towards l., holding globe	387	2	
77. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providentia standing l., holding staff over globe and in l. hand sceptre	512	1	
78. VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking r., hold- ing wreath and palm	560	1	
79. Similar: Victory to l.	563	1	
80. VIRTUS AVG. Virtus standing r., holding reversed spear and shield	575	2	
		—	27

ORBIANA.

Denarius.

81. CONCORDIA AVGG. Concordia seated l., holding patera and double cornucopiæ	1	1	
		—	1

JULIA MAMAEA.

Denarii.

82. IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno standing l., holding patera and sceptre; at her feet, peacock	35	2	
83. VENVS VICTRIX. Venus standing l., hold- ing helmet and spear; at her feet, shield.	76	1	
84. VESTA. Vesta standing l., holding palla- dium and sceptre	81	2	
85. Similar; but Vesta holds patera and sceptre.	85	1	
		—	6

MAXIMINUS I.

Denarii.

86. PAX AVGVSTI. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	37	1	
87. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Emperor lean- ing on sceptre to l., between two stand- ards	55	1	
		—	—
Carried forward		2	91

	Cohen.	No.	
Brought forward		2	91
88. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providentia standing l., holding staff over globe and cornucopiæ	75	2	
89. VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking r., holding wreath and palm	99	1	
		—	5

GORDIAN III (PIUS).

Denarius.

90. IOVIS STATOR. Jupiter turned to r., holding sceptre and thunderbolt	113	1
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Antoniniani.

91. AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ	17	1
92. Similar; but Aequitas holds patera instead of scales: <i>Obv.</i> IMP. CAES. GORDIANVS PIVS AVG. Bust radiate and draped to r.		1
93. AETERNITATI AVG. Soldier standing l., holding globe	41	1
94. CONCORDIA AVG. Concordia seated l., holding patera and double cornucopiæ	53	1
95. Similar; but <i>Obv.</i> IMP. CAES M. ANT. GORDIANVS AVG	50	1
96. FELICIT. TEMP. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	71	1
97. FORT. REDVX. Fortuna seated l., holding rudder and cornucopiæ	97	3
98. FORTVNA REDVX. Similar type and same <i>obv.</i> with radiate head		2
99. IOVI STATORI. Jupiter naked, standing to r., holding sceptre and thunderbolt	109	3
100. LAETITIA AVG. N. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor	121	5
101. ORIENS AVG. Sol standing towards l., holding globe	167	1
Carried forward	21	96

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward	21	96
102. PAX AVGVSTI. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	181	1
103. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Emperor veiled, sacrificing at altar, sceptre in l. hand	216	2
104. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	203	1
105. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. Emperor standing r., holding spear and globe. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG.	242	1
106. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P. Similar type	253	1
107. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. Apollo seated l., holding branch of laurel and resting l. arm on his lyre	272	2
108. PROVID. AVG. Providentia standing towards l., holding staff over globe and sceptre	296	3
109. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providentia standing l., holding globe and sceptre	302	2
110. SÆCVLI FELICITAS. Emperor standing r., holding spear and globe	319	1
111. SECVRIT. PERPET. Securitas leaning on column and holding sceptre, standing towards l.	327	1
112. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Same type	336	1
113. VICTORIA AETERNA. Victory standing l., leaning on shield and holding palm	353	1
114. VIRTVS AVG. Virtus standing l., holding shield and reversed spear	381	3
115. VIRTVS AVG. Mars standing l., holding branch and spear; at his feet, shield	383	1
116. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. Hercules standing, leaning on his club	404	2
	—	44
Carried forward		140

Brought forward 140

PHILIP I.

Antoniniani.

	Cohen.	No.
117. AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ	9	2
118. AETERNITAS AVGG. Elephant to l. with rider	17	2
119. ANNONA AVGG. Annona holding ears of corn above modius and cornucopiæ	25	2
120. Same, but <i>obv.</i> legend IMP. PHILIPPVS AVG.		1
121. FELICITAS TEMP. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	43	2
122. FIDES MILIT. Fides standing l., between two standards	55	1
123. LAETIT. FVNDAT. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and rudder	80	1
124. PAX FVNDATA CVM PERSIS. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	113	1
125. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Philip seated l., on curule chair, holding globe and sceptre	120	1
126. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. Pax standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	124	1
127. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P. Pax standing l., holding caduceus and cornu- copiæ	136	1
128. ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear	165	2
129. SAECVLARES AVGG. Stag standing r., in exergue ☪	182	1
130. VIRTVS AVG. Virtus seated l., holding branch and spear	240	1
		— 19
Carried forward		159

Brought forward 159

OTACILIA.

Antoniniani.

	Cohen.	No.
131. CONCORDIA AVGG. Concordia seated l., holding patera and cornucopiæ	14	1
132. IVNO CONSERVAT. Juno veiled, stand- ing l., holding patera and sceptre	20	1
133. PVDICITIA AVG. Pudicitia seated l., holding sceptre	53	1
	—	3

PHILIP II.

Antoniniani.

134. PRINCIPI IVVENT. Philip standing l., holding globe and spear	48	1
135. PRINCIPI IVVENT. Philip standing l., holding globe and spear; at his feet, captive	57	2
136. PRINCIPI IVVENT. Philip standing r., holding spear and globe, and accom- panied by a soldier	59	1
137. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Philip stand- ing l., holding standard and reversed spear	61	1
	—	5

TRAJAN DECIUS.

Antoniniani.

138. ABVNDANTIA AVG. Abundantia stand- ing r., emptying her cornucopiæ	2	2
139. ADVENTVS AVG. Emperor on horse- back l., holding sceptre	4	2
140. DACIA. Dacia standing l., holding staff surmounted by ass's head	13	2
141. Similar, but Dacia holds standard ²	27	1
	—	—
Carried forward	7	167

² This coin is struck over a denarius of Maximinus I reading VICTORIA AVG., and with Victory r., holding palm and wreath (Cohen, No. 99).

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward		7 167
142. GENIVS EXERC. ILLYRICIANI. Genius standing l., holding patera and cornucopiæ; at his side, standard ³	64	2
143. VBERITAS AVG. Uberitas standing l., holding purse and cornucopiæ	105	1
		— 10

ETRUSCILLA.

Antoninianus.

144. PVDICITIA AVG. Pudicitia seated l., holding sceptre	17	1
		— 1

HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS.

Antoniniani.

145. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Apollo seated l., holding branch and leaning on his lyre. <i>Obv.</i> —Q. HER. ETR. MES. DECIVS NOB. C. Bust of Herennius radiate and draped to r. <i>Unpublished</i>	—	1
146. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Herennius standing l., holding small staff and spear	26	1
147. SPES PVBLICA. Spes walking l., and holding flower	38	1
148. VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm. <i>Obv.</i> —HEREN. ETRV. MES. QV. DECIVS CAESAR. Bust to r., radiate and draped. <i>Unpublished</i>	—	1
		— 4

TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

Antoninianus.

149. ANNONA AVG. Abundantia standing r., her foot on prow, and holding rudder and ears of corn	17	1
		— —
Carried forward		1 182

³ One of these is struck over a denarius of Geta; but the type is not traceable.

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward	1	182
150. FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicitas stand- ing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	37	2
151. IVNÒ MARTIALIS. Juno seated l., holding ears of corn and spear . . .	46	2
152. LIBERTAS AVGG. Libertas leaning on column, standing l., and holding cap and sceptre	67	1
153. PIETAS AVGG. Pietas, her both hands raised, standing l. before an altar . . .	88	1
154. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providentia stand- ing l., holding globe and sceptre . . .	103	1
155. VICTORIA AVGG. Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm	128	2
	—	10

VOLUSIAN.

Antoniniani.

156. CONCORDIA AVGG. Concordia seated l., holding patera and double cornucopiæ . . .	25	3
157. Similar, but Concordia standing l. . . .	20	1
	—	4

VALERIAN I.

Antoniniani.

158. CONCORDIA AVGG. Concordia standing l., holding patera and double cornucopiæ	31	1
159. FELICITAS AVGG. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ . . .	55	1
160. LIBERALITAS AVGG. Liberalitas seated l., holding tessera and cornucopiæ . . .	108	1
161. VICTORIA AVGG. Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm	230	1
162. Similar, but different obverse legend . . .	231	3
	—	7
Carried forward		203

Brought forward 203

GALLIENUS.

Antoniniani.

	Cohen.	No.
163. CONCORDIA MILITVM. Concordia standing l., holding patera and cornucopiæ	137	1
164. GERMANICVS MAX. V. Trophy, at the base of which are seated two German captives	308	16
165. Similar, but bust to r., and holding sceptre and shield	310	2
166. PROVID. AVGG. Providentia standing l., holding staff and cornucopiæ	868	1
167. VICT. GERMANICA. Victory standing l., her foot on captive, holding wreath and palm	1049	4
168. Similar: but king's bust to l., radiate and holding spear and shield	1047	1
169. VICT. GERMANICA. Victory running r., holding wreath and palm	1053	1
170. VICT. GERMANICA. Victory r., on globe between two captives: she holds wreath and trophy	1062	4
171. VIRTVS AVGG. Virtus standing l., holding shield and reversed spear	1284	1
172. VIRTVS AVGG. Gallienus standing r., holding spear and standard	1309	5
	—	36

SALONINA.

Antoniniani.

173. FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicitas seated l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ	50	2
174. PVDICITIA AVG. Pudicitia seated l., holding sceptre	98	1
175. VENVS FELIX. Venus seated l., holding sceptre; before her, child	115	1
Carried forward	4	239

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward	4	239
176. VENVS VICTRIX. Venus seated l., holding helmet and sceptre; before her, shield. <i>Obv.</i> SALONINA AVG. Bust to r., diademed, draped and with crescent.	—	5
177. VENVS VICTRIX. Venus standing l., hold- ing apple and palm; shield at her side .	130	3
178. VESTA. Vesta standing l., holding patera and sceptre	137	2
179. VESTA. Vesta seated l., holding palladium and sceptre	142	1
	—	15

SALONINUS.

Antoniniani.

180. IOVI CRESCENTI. Jupiter seated on goat to r.	26	14
181. PIETAS AVG. Sacrificial implements .	41	4
182. Similar; but <i>Obv.</i> P. LIC. VALERIANVS CAES.	—	1
183. Similar; but <i>Obv.</i> D. N. VALERIANVS CAES.	—	1
	—	20

VALERIAN II.

Antoniniani.

184. DEO VOLKANO. Vulcan standing in temple, holding hammer and pincers .	2	1
185. ORIENS AVGG. Sol walking l., and hold- ing whip	6	6
	—	7

POSTUMUS.

Antoniniani.

186. CONCORD AEQVIT. Fortuna, her foot on prow, standing l., holding patera and rudder	17	1
187. FELICITAS AVG. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ . . .	39	4
Carried forward	5	281

	Cohen.	No.
Brought forward	5	281
188. FIDES MILITVM. Fides standing l., holding two standards. <i>Obv.</i> , IMP. C. POSTVMVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Emperor r., radiate and draped <i>var.</i>	67	1
189. HERC. PACIFERO. Hercules standing l., holding branch and club	101	3
190. IOVI VICTORI. Jupiter walking l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre	161	1
191. MONETA AVG. Moneta standing l., holding scales and cornucopiæ	199	1
192. ORIENS AVG. Sol walking l., holding whip	213	1
193. PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre	215	1
194. Similar; but PAX walking l.	220	3
195. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. Postumus standing l., holding globe and spear	243	1
196. VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm; captive at her feet	377	1
	—	18

CARAUSIUS.

Denarius.

197. EXPECTATE VENI, (in exergue) R. S. R. Female figure, Fides (?), holding vexillum in l. hand and with r. grasping r. hand of Carausius, who holds spear. <i>Obv.</i> IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AV. Bust of Carausius to r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass [Pl. III. 8.]	58	1
	—	1
198. Uncertain denarius	1	
	—	1
		301

It will be seen from the above descriptions that, with one exception, there is but little of special interest amongst the silver coins. The types are of the most ordi-

nary character, generally representing some divinity with his or her attributes; and the hoard is not sufficiently large to show the degree of rarity of any particular type. The few varieties which exist consist mainly of slight differences in the obverse and reverse types or legends from those given by Cohen. These differences have been noted in each case. Thus: Nos. 92 and 105 of Gordian III supply new obverse legends; as also do No. 120 of Philip I and Nos. 182 and 183 of Saloninus. No. 98 of Gordian III and No. 188 of Postumus show the head of the Emperor radiate instead of laureate. These last, I think, must be only mis-descriptions of Cohen. There are only two new varieties of reverse types: No. 145 of Herennius Etruscus reading PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS for PRINC. IVVENT., and No. 176 of Salonina with Venus Victrix seated instead of standing. The only new type is that of Herennius Etruscus, No. 148, with *rev.* VICTORIA AVG., and Victory with wreath and palm.

The antoniniani of Trajan Decius, Nos. 141 and 142 (one specimen), were struck on denarii of Maximinus I and Geta, which shows that at that time the weight of the antoninianus, originally current for about two denarii, had fallen to that of the old denarius. It was, no doubt, this fall in the weight of the antoninianus that caused the cessation of the issue of the denarius, which was then made use of for striking a coin of originally a higher current value.

The antoninianus of Philip I, No. 124, with the legend PAX FVNDATA CVM PERSIS, refers to the treaty which that emperor had concluded with the Persians after the murder of Gordian III, and when by intrigue he induced the army to declare himself Emperor. On his return to Rome, Philip, desirous of obliterating the memory of his

crime and of gaining the goodwill of the people, solemnised with infinite pomp and magnificence the secular games, which commemorated the thousandth year of the traditional foundation of Rome, and which are referred to on No. 129 with the legend *SAECVLARES AVGG*.

By far the most interesting among the silver coins in this hoard is the denarius of Carausius, which commemorates his welcome to the shores of Britain in A.D. 286. Unlike the usual currency of this period, the coin is of fairly fine silver, and of a different denomination from any at that time issued. In the type of the reverse the female figure, who is welcoming the Emperor, and addresses him in the words of the legend *EXPECTATE VENI* (Come, O thou long expected), has usually been considered to be a representation of Britannia; but considerable uncertainty has existed as to the nature of the object which she holds in her left hand. It has been described as a sceptre. Akerman⁴ thought it was evidently a trident, but Roach Smith⁵ says "the object held by the female resembles the caduceus of Felicity." I think there will be no difficulty in proving that the figure was not intended to be a representation of Britannia, and that the object which she holds is not a caduceus, a trident, or a sceptre. One circumstance alone negatives the interpretation of the figure being that of Britannia. It is that the arrival of Carausius to the shores of Britain was most unexpected and sudden. Though it may have been suspected by the Roman army quartered in this country, it could not have been generally known. The power and influence which Carausius had gained over the fleet which was stationed at Gesoriacum

⁴ *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, p. 54.

⁵ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., p. 153.

(Boulogne), and of which he had the chief command, had roused the jealousy of the Emperor Maximian, who issued an order that he should be put to death. The shrewd commander, however, anticipated the execution of this mandate, and speedily collecting his fleet he crossed the Channel and landed in Britain, most probably at Rutupiae (the modern Richborough), which from its proximity to Gaul and Germany was the usual port selected for military operations. Carausius appears to have experienced no difficulty in persuading the legion and the auxiliaries which guarded the island to embrace his cause, and boldly assuming the title of Augustus, he defied the arms of his injured sovereign.⁶ The arrival of Carausius in Britain must therefore have been very unexpected, though it is probable that some intimation of what was passing on the other side of the Channel had reached the army. These facts are, therefore, against the attribution of the figure to Britannia.

As regards the origin of this legend, which is peculiar to these coins of Carausius, Eckhel⁷ has remarked that the greeting of Carausius finds a parallel in the terms in which Virgil makes Aeneas address the shade of Hector:

“ O Lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum
 Quae tantae tenuere morae ? quibus Hector ab oris
 Expectate venis ? ut te post multa tuorum
 Funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
 Defessi aspicimus !

Aen., lib. ii., 281—5.

Another uncertainty which exists regarding this and similar coins of Carausius is their place of mintage.

⁶ Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, Ed. W. Smith, vol. ii., p. 71.

⁷ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. viii. 45.

Unlike the so-called antoniniani of Carausius, which are chiefly composed of copper, they are all of pure or fairly pure silver ; they are of the type of the old denarius, and they all bear the letters R.S.R. in the exergue on the reverse. At first sight the issue of these coins appears to be an absolute anomaly ; seeing that at this time in no other part of the whole Roman Empire were coins of this standard of metal or denomination struck. That the letters R.S.R. are the initials of the place of mintage there can certainly be but little doubt. Most of the gold and copper or base metal pieces struck by Carausius in Britain bear the mint letters. Thus M.L. (Moneta Londinensis) show that the coins were struck in London, whilst those issued at Camulodunum (Colchester) have the initials M.C. (Moneta Camulodunensis). These letters occupy precisely the same place on the reverse as do the R.S.R. on the silver coins. Some writers have suggested Rouen (Rotomagus) as their place of mintage, as occasionally specimens have been found there. De Salis was of opinion that they were probably struck in London,⁸ whilst Roach Smith⁹ suggests that they may be of Rutupiae or Richborough, and he reads the inscription as "*Rutupis signata*" — "struck at Rutupiae." Against the first opinion, it may be argued that whatever power Carausius possessed in Gaul after his assumption of Imperial authority, it was most probably limited to the coast near Boulogne ; and the occasional discovery of one or more of these silver coins at Rouen is no direct evidence of its being their place of mintage, as a considerable number of these pieces have also been unearthed at so

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. vii., p. 57.

⁹ *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne*, p. 136.

many places in England. Against the view of De Salis, the argument would naturally be, that if Carausius placed M.L. on his gold and copper coins to indicate the London mint, he would have used the same letters for his silver coins to mark their place of mintage.

A close examination of these silver coins will easily convince anyone accustomed to handle Roman coins of the third century that they are of British workmanship. The head of the Emperor on the obverse is similar to that on the gold coins of Carausius struck in London; and the fabric of the reverse is very like that of the British imitations of Roman coins of the same period. There can therefore be but slight hesitation in deciding these pieces to be of British origin. I am on that account strongly disposed to accept the view expressed by Roach Smith, and to class them to Rutupiae. In explaining the meaning of the letters R.S.R., Roach Smith omitted to take into account the final letter R. At first sight the letter S may appear to stand for *Signata* or *Sacra*, as there are coins of Carausius and Allectus struck both at London and Colchester, which bear—in conjunction with the initial of the mint, L. or C.—the letters M.S. or S.M., or S.P., which are usually interpreted as *Moneta Signata* or *Sacra*, and *Sacra* or *Signata Pecunia*. In fact, there is in the National Collection another specimen, but in copper, of the “Expectate veni” type, which has in the exergue the letters M.S.C., i.e., *Moneta Signata* or *Sacra Camulodunensis*. As, however, the letters R.S.R. on the coins of Carausius do not appear to admit of a similar interpretation, I would venture to suggest that they are the initials only of the mint, and that as Rutupiae was the headquarters of the Roman Army in that district, they may stand for *Rutupiae Stativa Romana* or *Rutupiae Statio Romana*.

The word *stativa*, meaning a "standing camp" or a "fortified place," was constantly used by Livy, Tacitus, and other Roman authors, and Ammianus Marcellinus describes Rutupiae as a *Statio*.¹⁰ Either epithet would well apply to Richborough. This suggestion leaves ample ground for further conjecture, but the attribution of these silver coins to this place of mintage would materially assist in clearing up two difficult questions. It will account for the solitary re-issue of the denarii of a fine standard of metal after a lapse of so many years, and it will also explain the origin of nearly all the types of the coins which bear the mint-mark R.S.R.

During the whole of the Roman occupation of Britain, Rutupiae was an important military place, being selected chiefly on account of its good harbour, which has now quite disappeared. It was at this spot that Julius Cæsar effected his first landing; but not without losing a number of his ships, as a heavy gale caused them to miss the harbour, and drove them on to the rocks. From its proximity to Gaul and Germany, Rutupiae soon became the chief port selected for military and commercial intercourse between Britain and those countries. The Itinerary of Antoninus tells us that it was situated 450 stadia from Gesoriacum; and as the distance to no other port in Britain is mentioned, it would almost appear as if this was the chief line of communication between Gaul and Britain. The route taken by Cæsar was most probably followed by other Roman commanders during the first and second centuries. And we know that it was

¹⁰ *Res Gest.*, xxvii., 8, 6. "Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam."

chosen by Constantius Chlorus when he came over to attack Allectus after the death of Carausius, and subsequently by Lupicinus and Theodosius, the generals of Julian and Valens. In addition, Rutupiae was in a direct line of communication by road with London, and thence with Chester, York, and Northern Britain. But what made Rutupiae of still greater importance was, that it was one of the chief military stations of the Roman army. During the first and second centuries a portion of the 2nd Legion was quartered there; but the coins of Carausius tell us that, when he proclaimed himself emperor, it was occupied by the 4th Legion, since one of the silver coins with R.S.R. bears the legend, LEG. IIII. FVL (Legio IV. Fulvia). Naturally this large military dépôt must have attracted a considerable civil population, probably of a somewhat mixed character, seeing that Rutupiae was in close commercial relation with Germany. Now it is clear, from finds of coins which have recently been unearthed, that, in spite of the debased state of the Roman money at this particular period, there was still a considerable currency of the purer silver coins, which had been issued before the debasement took place. This is shown by the hoard recently described in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* by our President¹¹; and it is also proved, but to a lesser degree, by the Sully find, in which there was not a single piece of the more debased money. It is also known that Germany never would accept the base Roman money; but adhered exclusively to a silver Roman currency, until it struck its own coinage in that metal. If we accept these conditions, we have no difficulty in ascertaining why Carausius issued these coins of pure silver, and of the standard and type of the former

¹¹ Ser. iii., vol. xviii. 126.

denarius. It was a purely military coinage to pass in currency with the denarius still in circulation both here and on the Continent. By choosing the type of the denarius, Carausius copied a coin which had not been debased like the antoninianus, and which would not be confused with the latter piece. The denarius most common in currency at that time was that of Severus Alexander, and if an analysis were made of the silver coins of Carausius, there is little doubt but that it would closely tally with that of the coins of the earlier emperor. What also proves these coins to be a military issue is the nature of their types. That of "Felicitas" and a ship refers to the journey of Carausius from Gesoriacum to Britain; those of "Adventus Aug." and a horseman; and of "Expectate veni," and a figure greeting the emperor to his arrival here; those of "Concordia Milit." and two hands joined, and "Fides Milit." with Fides holding a standard to the goodwill and confidence of the Roman troops here, and lastly, that with "Leg. IIII. Ful." and a lion, the symbol of this legion, is an actual record of the legion then stationed in this district. There are others of more general types, some of which are personal to the emperor; and these, and all the other types mentioned, have the mint letters R.S.R. The military character of this issue furnishes us with the clue for ascertaining of whom is the figure on the reverse of the "Expectate Veni" piece, which welcomes the emperor. It is not Britannia but "Fides Militum," and the object which she holds is not a sceptre or a caduceus, but her usual attribute, a standard, and in this particular instance the vexillum. The drapery at the top of the standard is only represented in bare outline, and is not clearly traceable except on very well-preserved specimens, such as that which occurred in the

Sully hoard. As it has been noted, the army was probably aware of what was passing on the other side of the Channel ; so that the arrival of Carausius, though, perhaps, unknown generally, had been for some days eagerly expected by the army, and the hearty welcome of the troops co-operating with the goodwill of the fleet was probably one of the chief causes which induced Carausius to proclaim himself emperor.

It is hoped that the foregoing remarks will have thrown some light on the origin and the cause of this exceptional issue of silver denarii by Carausius ; but I regret that no better solution has, so far, suggested itself to me as to the meaning of the mint letters. However, having ascertained the origin of these coins, it is not improbable that, if the suggestion offered is not considered sound, this point also will be more satisfactorily solved.

Let us now turn to the gold coins which occurred in the hoard, some of which are of considerable interest. The first piece to be noticed is the double aureus of Diocletian, or as such pieces are more commonly called, the medallion. Coins of this denomination are of extreme rarity. There was not a single specimen either in the Ponton d'Amécourt collection, nor in that of the late Mr. Montagu, both of which were extremely rich in gold coins of the reign of Diocletian. Also Cohen has described only two examples. The coin from the Sully hoard is unique. It bears on the obverse the older portrait of Diocletian, which is not found on his money before A.D. 295, when the great re-coinage took place, and the reverse type is clearly a record of the long series of brilliant achievements which had happened during his reign. The chief of these were the defeat of Allectus in Britain, the repulse of the Alemanni in

Gaul, the rout of the Mauretanian hordes by Maximian, the abject submission of all Egypt to Diocletian, and in the East the defeat by Galerius of the Armenians, and the submission of Persia. These great victories were completed when Diocletian entered upon the twentieth year of his reign in A.D. 303, and the games common at each decennial period were combined with a triumph, the most gorgeous which Rome had witnessed since the days of Aurelian. Gibbon¹² says:—"Africa and Britain, the Rhine, the Danube and the Nile furnished their respective trophies; but the most distinguished ornament was of a more singular nature, a Persian victory followed by an important conquest. The representations of rivers, mountains, and provinces were carried before the Imperial car. The images of the captive wives, the sisters, and the children of the Great King afforded a new and grateful spectacle to the vanity of the people. In the eyes of posterity, this triumph is remarkable by a distinction of a less honourable kind. It was the last triumph that Rome ever beheld."

It was, therefore, on this occasion that this coin was struck, and its unusual size was a fitting record of so remarkable an event. The whole spirit of the reverse type shows that it must refer to such an occasion. Victory holding the world in her hands offers it freely to the Emperor, who is represented in his favourite personification of Jupiter. His whole attitude is one of repose. His foot is placed on the back of an Eastern captive; in his right hand he holds the thunderbolt, resting his arm on his knee, and with his left hand he leans on a sceptre.

¹² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. Smith, vol. ii., p. 89.

It is also an attitude of supreme power. The legend, too, tells us, that the great victories recently won were to bring everlasting happiness to the Emperors and to the Empire, a prophecy which was not to be fulfilled; as shortly afterwards Diocletian resigned and the Empire was torn asunder by rival claimants to the purple. Of the two other double aurei which are known, one has the figure of Victory standing on a globe, evidently a record of the same events as our piece. It was also struck at Rome. The other, struck at Antioch, commemorates Diocletian's election to the Consulship for the sixth time in A.D. 296.

The other gold coin of Diocletian is an aureus of the usual reverse type of the Emperor represented as Jupiter the Preserver. This piece is of some importance, as it bears on the reverse the initials of the Roman mint, which are wanting on a similar coin already in the British Museum, but which had been attributed from its fabric to that mint. The lowness of relief and the style of the portrait show that this coin belongs to the earlier period of Diocletian's reign, and was therefore struck before the re-coinage of A.D. 295. The gold coins of Diocletian and Maximian, struck after A.D. 295, can easily be distinguished from those issued before that date. The former have the types generally, but more especially the head or bust of the Emperor, in very high relief, and the flan is smaller and thicker.

The first two coins of Maximian in the list are of precisely the same type as the preceding piece of Diocletian, except that the head of the Emperor is adorned with a radiate crown. Nearly all the gold coins of Maximian struck before A.D. 295 represent the Emperor's head laureate. The issue of these two coins was contemporary with that of the similar piece of Diocletian; but

one of them emanated from the mint at Rome, whilst the other was struck at Thessalonica. The similarity of fabric of the coins of these two mints, which were at such a distance apart, is very remarkable, more especially with respect to the portrait of the Emperor. It rather suggests that at this particular period, when the local mints were still in their infancy, and were striking coins of purely Roman types and standard, the dies were prepared at the central mint at Rome, and thence transferred to the local centres. Otherwise it would be difficult to account for this minute similarity. The subject is, however, too far-reaching for us to consider at this moment. It will require a most minute examination of all the coins of the imperial world struck at this and at later times.

Taking the coins of Maximian in their chronological order, the next piece to be noticed is the aureus, No. 6, with the reverse type of Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. This piece is of much interest, for its obverse as well as its reverse type. Though Maximian on his accession to the purple adopted the cognomen *Herculius*, as Diocletian did that of *Jovius*, he did not, like the latter, represent himself in the guise of his favourite divinity on his gold coins before A.D. 295, except in this one instance. All his other types are complimentary to his colleague Diocletian, as they consist of some representation of Jupiter. On the other hand, it may be noticed that during this period, A.D. 285-295, Diocletian did not pay the same compliment to his colleague by placing the figure of Hercules on his coins. It is quite possible that Diocletian, as the senior emperor, may have considered that he had a prior right in selecting the types for the money. The obverse type is remarkable, as it

shows the Emperor in full armour, holding one spear in his right hand and two spears and a shield in his left. He is in full attire as a general of his army, saving the helmet. This is one of the very few instances of Maximian being represented half-length on his coins, and showing his hands and arms. On his medallions we often see him in half-length holding his horse and shield, or with sceptre, or with sceptre and shield ; but these were medals, and with these the engraver always took greater license in representing the portrait of his emperor. The obverse and reverse types of the coin, taken in conjunction with the legend "Virtus Maximiani Aug.," undoubtedly commemorate the successful military expeditions of Maximian, more especially those against the Gauls and the Mauretanians. On the obverse he is shown as the successful general, and on the reverse in the character of Hercules strangling the lion ; *i.e.* destroying the enemies of the empire. The inscriptions on both sides testify to the valour for which Maximian was noted from his youngest days.

The remaining two gold coins of Maximian in the hoard, Nos. 5 and 7, belong to the later period of his reign, viz., after A.D. 295. The bust of the Emperor, and also the reverse type, are in high relief. No. 7, with a representation of Hercules seizing the stag of Ceryneia, is probably the earlier of the two pieces ; as this type is found on coins of Diocletian, which must have been issued before A.D. 305, the year of his resignation. After A.D. 295 Maximian's coins generally exhibit him in the character of Hercules, which was, as we have noted, exceptional previous to that date. This type and several others representing the labours of Hercules have no particular historical importance. They appear only generally to relate to the bravery shown by the Emperor at all

times. The other labours of Hercules figured on the coins of Maximian are the slaying of the Nemean lion as above, the fight against the Lernean hydra, the capture of the Erymanthian boar, the procuring of the golden apples of the Hesperides, and the taking of Cerberus. Besides these, there are numerous other representations of Hercules not immediately referring to his labours.

The other coin of Maximian, No. 5 in the list, affords an opportunity for correcting an error by Cohen relating to its date of issue, which that writer, on account of the legend on the reverse, "P. M. TR. P.P.," puts to A.D. 286, the first regnal year of Maximian. The style of the head of the Emperor on this coin shows that it must be ascribed to a later date, at least after A.D. 295. If we take the inscription on the reverse as recording the first year of the Tribunitian power, the figure standing surrounded by standards, to whom it would apply, cannot be intended for that of the Emperor, but one of his associates in the Empire, whether as Cæsar or as Augustus. Maximian's dates are: Caes. A.D. 285; Aug., A.D. 286; Abd. A.D. 305; Rest. A.D. 306; Abd. (second time) A.D. 308; Rest. (second time) A.D. 309; D. A.D. 310.

Setting aside Diocletian, who was declared Augustus in A.D. 284, the dates of Maximian's colleagues were:—

	Caesar. A.D.	Augustus. A.D.	1st Trib. Year. A.D.
Constantius I . .	292	305	292
Galerius . .	292	305	292
Severus . .	305	306	305
Maximinus II . .	305	307	305
Maxentius . .	—	306	306
Licinius I . .	—	307	307
Constantine I . .	306	307	306

As the coin was not struck before A.D. 295, we may at

once omit Constantius I and Galerius, and as the first tribunitian years of Severus and Maximinus II both fell in the year A.D. 305, when Maximian's first abdication occurred, they may be passed over also. We have thus remaining Maxentius, Licinius I, and Constantine I. Of these Licinius I was the nominee of Galerius, and Constantine I was appointed by his father, Constantius I, his successor. Maxentius, on the other hand, was a son of Maximian Herculius, but had been set aside in A.D. 305, some doubts having been expressed respecting his legitimacy. However, in the following year, A.D. 306, these scruples appear to have been overlooked and he was created Augustus. As it was in this year, too, that Maximian resumed the Imperial power, it may be concluded that the figure on the reverse of this coin of Maximian, No. 5, is that of Maxentius, and that it was issued in A.D. 306. As this would make this coin the latest one in the hoard, and as it is in an excellent state of preservation, it gives us the approximate date of its burial, which was probably between A.D. 306 and A.D. 310.

The following is a description of the rings which were found in the hoard:—

1. Gold ring with angular-shaped hoop of foliate design, narrowest at the back and expanding at the shoulders; the bezel octagonal and set with an unengraved nicolo. *Diam.*, 1·04 in. *L. of bez.*, ·58 in.
2. Gold ring of similar shape, the hoop plain at the back; the bezel, an oval raised setting with scalloped border, containing an onyx cameo representing a female head, Medusa, (?) facing, of somewhat coarse workmanship. *Diam.*, ·92 in. *L. of bez.*, ·52 in. [Pl. III. 9.]

3. Gold ring of similar form, the back of the hoop plain and engraved with two parallel lines, the shoulders pierced. The bezel is a raised setting, now of irregular outline, from which the stone is lost. *Diam.*, 1·0 in. *L. of bez.*, ·58 in. [Pl. III. 10.]
4. Gold ring with angular hoop and shoulders moulded in bold relief. The bezel is rectangular and engraved in intaglio with a cock to l. *Diam.*, 1·0 in. *L. of bez.*, ·34 in. [Pl. III. 11.]

All these rings are of the usual forms of Roman rings, which have been hitherto ascribed to the second half of the third century A.D., and the discovery of the Sully hoard shows that their date had been correctly fixed. Nos. 1-3 are practically of the same design and form. They are all angular in shape, and only differ in the bezels and in the ornamentation of the shoulders which support the bezels. No. 3 varies in having the shoulders pierced. Of No. 1 the shoulders are almost plain, while No. 2 is an intermediate type. On No. 1 the stone in the bezel is plain without any design, but on No. 2 there is a good example of the cameo-cutter's art of the third century; but it is not of very high merit for its style or workmanship, a characteristic of most of the gems of that period. No. 4 differs considerably from the others in having the shoulders narrow, and in being moulded in high relief. The bezel, too, is of the same material as the rest of the ring, and the representation of the cock is of somewhat rude design. It is scarcely probable that these rings were of local fabrication. The illustrations in the plate give a fair idea of their style and form. By the discovery of these rings in this hoard their date of manufacture can be fixed within the limit of a few years. As already stated, the date of issue of the latest coin was about A.D. 306; and if we take into consideration the condition of the rings,

which show a certain amount of wear, we shall not be far out in ascribing their manufacture to about twenty years before their concealment with the rest of the treasure.

It is needless to speculate on the circumstances which led to the burial of this hoard. The presence of a skull near the spot affords no clue, as it was probably in no way connected with the treasure. The hoard, which was of considerable value at the time, was evidently buried by a private individual, who from unforeseen circumstances failed to unearth his property, and so it remained concealed for close upon sixteen centuries. Its discovery has not been without some benefit to archæology, both numismatically and otherwise.

H. A. GRUEBER.

III.

ECGBERHT, KING OF THE WEST SAXONS AND THE KENT MEN, AND HIS COINS.

THE mutual dependence of numismatics and history is illustrated by many famous papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, in which historical problems have been illuminated by the use of coins. Having paid some attention to the very obscure period of our history covered by the time between the reign of Offa and that of Alfred, on which the numismatic discoveries of recent years have thrown some light, I have ventured to put together a memoir on the reign of Ecgberht, in the hope that it may be acceptable, especially as it contains some new, or at all events some unconventional, views about him.

One great difficulty in writing upon Ecgberht is the unsatisfactory character of the chief authority for his reign, namely, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which during this period, as at an earlier stage, is full of doubtful statements, and pervaded by an impossible chronology, proving it to have been compiled long after the events.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in my view, is a translation and not an original composition. Like the similar annals composed on the Continent at the same period, it was, I believe, composed in Latin, and was afterwards translated into the vernacular.

The Latin original of the earlier part of the Chronicle was, I imagine, composed during the reign of Alfred,

and it seems to me there are cogent reasons for attributing its composition to Asser, the biographer of Alfred, a view I have not seen mentioned elsewhere, but which seems to me, for several reasons, very probable.

Asser's master was a king of the West Saxons, and the West Saxons had had a very discontinuous history, in which the ruling house belonged first to one and then to another foreign stock, while its annals were anything but heroic. Asser had to construct a story which should do due honour to the predecessors of his patron, and had further to give him an ancestry connecting him, if possible, with the traditional kings of early Wessex history, and he did so by giving him a pedigree which seems to me to be quite artificial and manufactured. He says: "Aelfred rex filius Aethelwulfi regis; qui fuit Ecgberthi; qui fuit Ealhmundi; qui fuit Eafa; qui fuit Eowwa; qui fuit Ingild: Ingild et Ine, ille famosus Occidentalium rex Saxonum, germani duo fuerunt." The same story, as I believe, by the same hand, is told in regard to the ancestry of Aethelwulf in the A.-S.C. under the year 855.

This genealogy is, it seems to me, a clumsy attempt to connect the stock of Alfred with that of Ine, the old King of Wessex. Ine's brother Ingild was, I believe, entirely an invention of Asser. He is only once mentioned in history, namely, in that most unsatisfactory document, the A.-S.C., which I believe, as I said, came from the same hand—and which, under the year 718, says, "This year Ingild, the brother of Ine, died." Now the A.-S.C., down to the time when Bede stops, is a mere compilation from Bede, and the few additions which it contains seem all, or nearly all, to be doubtful and valueless. Bede, who was the

very man to have told us of Ine's brother if he had ever existed, knows nothing whatever of him; but what is more striking, and in fact conclusive, is that his name nowhere occurs as a witness to the charters of Ine. It seems to me quite plain that he was an invention of Asser, meant to bridge over a gap in the genealogy. The son and grandson of Ingild, Eowa and Eafa, apparently bear names which are forms of the same name. They are absolutely unknown to history, and, so far as I know, occur nowhere as witnesses to Anglo-Saxon charters, and their names are Anglian in form. Similar names occur as moneyers on Anglo-Saxon coins, and it was possibly from such a source that they were derived by Asser. I cannot attach any value to them whatever, and look upon them as inventions of the fabricator of the pedigree.

The next name in the list, namely, Ealhmund, is entirely different. I have no doubt it represents a real person, and that real person was the father of Ecgberht; but it is plain he was not a Wessex man, and had nothing to do with Wessex. No such name occurs in the Wessex charters, and it is quite foreign to the old names in that district. On the other hand, it is quite plainly a Kentish name, and he was looked upon as a Kent man by the writers who refer to him, and both Ecgberht and Ealhmund, which are names foreign to the name-lists of Wessex, occur among the royal names of Kent.

Not only so. If we turn to the late Latin edition of the A.-S.C. known as Codex F, we find, under the year 784, a marginal note in a later hand, partly in Latin and partly in Saxon, as follows: "*Hic tunc temporis fuit in Cantia rex Ealhmundus. Thes Ealhmund cing was Egberhtes fieder. Egberht was Adhulfes fieder.*"

It was apparently from Codex F that a marginator in

Codex A inserted in his copy of the Chronicle the phrase,
 “ *To thysan timan rixode Ealhmund cing innon Cent.*”

These notices are no doubt very late, and we can probably trace them to a charter numbered 243 by Birch¹ and MXIII. by Kemble.² This is a grant *dated in* 784, by which Ealhmund, King of Kent, makes over some land at Seilduuc, or Sheldwich, in Kent, to Hwitred, the abbot, and the monastery at Reculver, and it is confirmed and assented to by Juenberht, Archbishop of Canterbury.

It is plain that the marginators of the two copies of the Chronicle above named identified Ealhmund, the father of Ecgberht, with the Ealhmund, King of Kent, mentioned in the charter in 784. This is the only charter in which Ealhmund occurs as king, nor do we find him named elsewhere as king, nor did he strike any coins, and he was no doubt a dependant merely of Offa of Mercia. Three persons of his name occur as witnesses to the charters of the Kings of Mercia. One signs as *Abbas*, another was Bishop of Winchester, and a third may possibly have been the same as the Ealhmund, King of Kent, of the above cited charter. In 748, 749, 755-57, *i.e.*, in the reign of Aethelbald, Ealhmund or Alhmund signs without any descriptive epithet. This was possibly some other person. In 774 we have the signature Ealhmund dux (*i.e.*, Ealdorman), in 792 *id.*, 794 *id.*, 796 *id.*, all during the reigns of Offa and Ecgfryth, and lastly that of Ealhmund princeps in the year 801 in a charter of Beorhtric, King of Wessex.

I may add that an *Eanmund*, King of Kent, who is

¹ *Cartularium Saxonicum.*

² *Cod. Dip.*

otherwise unnamed, confirms a charter of Sigered, King of Kent, to Bishop Earduulf, in the presence of both Archbishop Bregowin and Archbishop Jaenberht (Birch, 194).

This Eanmund may possibly be the same person. This is, however, doubtful; what does not seem doubtful is that, as Mr. Plummer has urged, if Ecgberht was the son of a Kentish King Ealhmund, it is impossible to credit the earlier pedigree deriving him from Ingild, for the Kings of Kent had a very clear and proud descent of their own from much more famous people than the early rulers of Wessex, and would not have tolerated a usurpation by an obscure stock like that of Ingild. It is perfectly plain, in fact, that the pedigree of Aethelwulf as given in the A.-S.C. and by Asser is quite spurious.

Let us, however, return to Ecgberht. As we have seen, the marginators of the Chronicle make him the son of Ealhmund, King of Kent, and therefore a Kent man and not a Wessex man; and if so, he was really a foreigner in the latter country, and had no direct claim to descent from the Early Wessex Kings. The view that he did so belong to the Royal family of Kent is supported by other facts.

As we shall see presently, the A.-S.C., in describing the conquest of Kent and its dependent districts from Baldred, speaks of them as "having formerly been unjustly forced from his kin" (*i.e.*, from Ecgberht's). This clearly points to Ecgberht having, in the eyes of the chronicler, belonged to the old stock of the Kings of Kent. Henry of Huntingdon, the rhetorical embellisher of the chronicler, glosses this phrase by the explanation that Eadberht Praen, who was thus displaced, was Ecgberht's *propinquus*.

This takes us on to another conclusion of a more numismatic nature, and to the consideration of some coins whose real meaning has been hitherto misunderstood. These coins are very scarce, and only two types are known. Their fabric, etc., clearly points them out as Kentish coins, and they have always been so treated. On the obverse we read Ecgberht with **R** (Rex) in the centre, while on the reverse is the name of the moneyer. Two moneyers are known on these coins, Babba and Vdd, both of whom occur on the coins of Offa, and the former on the coins of his successor, Coenwulf, while Babba also occurs on the coins of Eadberht Praen, who ruled in Kent in 796-798. It seems to me as plain as possible that the Ecgberht of these coins was no other than the Ecgberht son of Ealhmund, King of Kent, already named. The date as fixed by the moneyers is absolutely consistent with this view. In the catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the British Museum, vol. i, p. 67, Mr. Keary, in discussing these coins, adds a note to the effect that "the Ecgberht of the coins just named was formerly supposed to be the son of Offa, who reigned for about six months in 796." But this statement is founded on a mistake. The son of Offa in question was not called Ecgberht at all, but Ecgfryth.

The moneyers' names point to the coins just named as having been struck near the end of Offa's reign and the beginning of Coenwulf's, while their great scarcity shows that they were only struck for a short time. It is not improbable that it was the fact of Ecgberht striking these coins which made the Mercian King expatriate him. Let us now turn to this expatriation.

In the A.-S.C., under the year 836, we have the well-known statement about Ecgberht in these words: "Before

he was king, Offa King of the Mercians, and Beorhtric King of the West Saxons drove him out of England into France for three years." There is not a word here about his having been driven out of Wessex, and if he had been in Wessex at the time it is not easy to see why Offa or any other Mercian king should have intervened, or rather been the chief person in driving him out, while Beorhtric merely assisted him, for Beorhtric was King of Wessex. On the other hand, Offa and his family had great pretensions to rule Kent, and he did in fact conquer it, and put his own *protégés* on the throne. When Ecgberht, therefore, was driven out of England and had to seek refuge in France, it was not as a *regulus* or prince of Wessex, but as a prince of Kent. Inasmuch as both the Kings of Mercia and of Wessex united to drive him out, he must have exercised considerable power there, and it seems exceedingly probable that he was, in fact, King of Kent after his father.

Let us now turn to the date of this expatriation. Here I believe the Chronicle to be, as in so many other cases, very untrustworthy, and it is certainly inconsistent with itself. It makes Ecgberht to be expatriated some time between the marriage of Beorhtric, which it dates in 787 (or when corrected, 789), and the death of Offa in 796, but in a later passage it makes Ecgberht return home again after the death of Beorhtric in 802, and yet only after an absence of three years. To cure the mistake Lappenberg suggested that we ought to read thirteen years instead of three in the passage, but this is quite arbitrary. It seems to me much more probable that the chronicler has mistaken the name of the Mercian King. It is not probable that Ecgberht would have revolted and set up authority in Kent during the reign of the famous and all-powerful Offa, but it is

more probable that, like Eadberht Praen, he would do so on the death of that ruler, and during the time of difficulty which followed the premature death of Ecgfryth, Offa's son. In that case the Mercian King, who was in alliance with Beorhtric, was not Offa but Coenwulf. Eadberht Praen's usurpation took place in 796-798, and it seems not unlikely that Ecgberht's took place in 798 or 799, and this would make it possible for him to return in 802 and yet be away only three years as the Chronicle says, and if so we must put the coins we have described at the very close of the eighth century.

When Ecgberht fled from England he went to the court of Charlemagne, the friend and correspondent of Offa, who would not be very likely to receive an open enemy of his, but who doubtless looked upon Coenwulf or Kenulf as a usurper, and Charlemagne was certainly pleased enough to have such an important personage at his court to use if occasion required against the English. Of his doings at the Frankish Court we read nothing in our English histories, but I believe myself that he became one of Charlemagne's principal Paladins, and that his rôle on the Continent has been entirely overlooked and mistaken. The name of Ecgberht is quite peculiar to these islands; was, so far as I know, quite unknown on the Continent, and was quite unused in Continental Saxony, Old Saxony as it was called. Now it is a very remarkable fact that during the very time when it would seem our Ecgberht was a fugitive beyond the Channel at Charlemagne's court, that Emperor selected an Egbert as his *locum tenens* beyond the Rhine among the Saxons, who had been his ruthless enemies. It is most improbable that he would have trusted him as he did if he had been a Continental Saxon. He is especially mentioned in the year 809, when we are

told in Eginhardt's Annals, &c., that after the Emperor had selected a site for a new city on the Danish March, at a place called Esesfelth, on the River Stur, it was taken possession of by Egbert and the Saxon Counts, and was fortified. (See Eginhardt's *Ann.*, Enhard's *Ann. Fuld.*, and *Ann. Max. sub ann.*)

In the year 811 Egbert is specially named among the twelve counts who were nominated by Charlemagne to negotiate about the Danish frontier with an equal number of Danes. According to the later writers, he married St. Ida, and became the father of a certain Warinus. Thus in the *Translatio S. Pusinnæ*, 2 Ser. ii., 681-682, Wilmans' *Kaizerurkunden*, etc., I., 542, we read, *Warinus, nobilissimo genere propagatus; fuit enim genitus Echberto, clarissimo comite et duce, matre splendidissima nomine Ida*. Again, in the life of St. Ida, written in 980-983, we read (*Ib.* p. 471 f.), "ubi tunc inter alios orientis proceres, præfectus quidam Eccebertus nomine advenisse dicitur—Erat enim prædicto augusto, pro invictæ constantiæ et prudentiæ præconiis, non mediocriter acceptus . . . præcellentissimi sui comitis . . . illustris vir Ecbertus deditque illi in eisdem partibus multas possessiones de puplico, quatenus viciniore potentia soceris acceptior factus, non minori apud illos quam in genitali solo præcelleret dignitate. Insuper etiam cunctis Saxonibus, qui inter Hrenum et Wisaram maxima flumina inhabitant, ducem præfecit . . . ad locum quendam secus Lippiam flumen, qui Saxonica lingua Hirutfeld nuncupatur, amoenis nemoribus consitum . . . Ad illum namque dicatum locum, qui est in pago Drehni in Lippiæ ripa fluminis, nonnulla illustris viri Ecberti prædia respiciebant." Whatever the value of these later stories, which are doubtless exaggerated, it seems to me that the probabilities are very great indeed that the Count Egbert of Charlemagne's

historians was the same person as the expatriated Kentish prince of whom we are writing.

Let us now return again to England. No period of English history seems so obscure as that generally assigned to the reign of Ecgberht, King of Wessex, and nowhere is that most unsatisfactory document, the A.-S.C., more unsatisfactory.

According to that document, he returned to England in 800 (to be corrected to 802), on the death of Beorhtric, and it is possible he did come temporarily, but only, as I think, temporarily, and there were reasons of a private kind which would induce him to visit the country, for he had estates in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The former he speaks of as *terra quam precessores mei atque propinqui jure michi hereditario possidendam reliquerunt* (Birch, 389), and it is not improbable that he derived them from some of his female ancestors. His son Aethelwulf, as we all know, married a daughter of a grandee of the Isle of Wight, who is described by Asser as of Jutish descent, pointing to some family ties with the district. Whether he returned in 802 or not, it would seem that he did not then return here *as King*, nor remain here, for we neither find him granting any charters, nor find any mention of his name again until the year 813, which ought to be corrected to 815, when we read that King Ecgberht laid waste West Wales from eastwards to westwards.

This description has been generally accepted as referring to Cornwall. It is supported by an entry in a charter of Dunstan's, first published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, in which we are told that "it happened that the West Welsh rose against King Ecgberht. The King went thither, and gave a tenth part of the land (to God),

and disposed of it as it seemed fit." We again have to wait some years without a reference to Ecgberht or to the name of Wessex in the Chronicle.

In the year 821, we read in the Chronicle that Ceolwulf was deprived of his kingdom, *i.e.*, of Mercia, and the next year we read that two ealdormen, Burghelm and Muca, were slain, possibly in the civil strife which followed. Up to this time we do not find any evidences of Ecgberht exercising royal authority in Wessex, and I am disposed to believe that, for the greater part of the time, he was abroad, and living at the Carlovingian Court, as I have already suggested, and that, during the reigns of Coenwulf, who was a masterful and warlike ruler, and of Ceolwulf, he did not raise pretensions to the crown. We now find him very active everywhere, and exercising royal authority. The year in which this activity begins is 823, which ought to be corrected to 825.

It is surely very remarkable that, with the exception of the ravaging of Cornwall just mentioned, there is not a single fact mentioned about Wessex and its ruler from his supposed accession in 802 till the year 825. It is equally remarkable that after this date Ecgberht and Wessex occur continuously in the Chronicle until that king's death.

A more important fact, however, than any contained in the A.-S.C. at this date, when its chronology, etc., are so unsatisfactory, is that not a single charter or document granted or conferred by Ecgberht is known until the year 824 or 825, after which several occur. This fact is in itself almost conclusive that Ecgberht's reign over Wessex has been entirely misunderstood. It would appear, indeed, that until the Battle of Ellandune, Wessex was subject to Mercia, and we actually have grants of land in Berkshire

to the abbey of Abingdon by the King of Mercia during the first quarter of the 9th century, in which no mention of Ecgeberht or any other independent ruler of Wessex occurs, and Berkshire was a focus of the Wessex Kingdom and the birthplace of Alfred. It is exceedingly probable that during the first quarter of that century Ecgeberht was, as I have said, largely abroad at the Court of the Carolingian ruler, and that when he was in England he was not there as King of Wessex, but as a dependant of the Mercian king. This seems to me to explain what has been a puzzle to some enquirers. In several of Ecgeberht's charters we have an enigmatical phrase. In the dating of these charters we read: Anno dom. in. DCCCXXVI, Indictione IIII. anno Ecgeberhti regis XXIIII. *ducatus autem sui XIII.* (Birch, 390, 391, and 393). This method of dating seems to point to something important which happened in Ecgeberht's career in the year 812 or 813, and I take it that this date coincides perhaps with his return from the Continent, when he perhaps acquired and adopted the title of Dux (a date roughly answering to that of the death of his patron, Charlemagne), while he dated his regnal years arbitrarily from the death of the last King of Wessex. Now it is very curious that an Ecgeberht, who styles himself Dux, signs the Acts of the Council of Clofesho, held on the 30th of October, 824, which is also signed by Beornwulf, king of the Mercians, and the Southern bishops.

He also signs as Dux the record of the quarrel of Archbishop Wulfred and King Beornwulf, of Mercia, and of their final settlement (Birch, 378, 379, and 384).

I would suggest that until the year 825 Ecgeberht, when he happened to be in England, was not there as King of Wessex at all, but as a *dux*, i.e., doubtless an ealdorman,

or perhaps a reeve, one of several under the Mercian King, and that the "*ducatus*" to which he refers was in fact the dignity held by him as *dux*. This would account for a great many puzzles in the story, and is surely a better explanation than Mr. Plummer's, who would translate *Ducatus* by Bretwaldadom. The Bretwalda was a personage of pan-Anglian importance, and in 813 Egberht was almost an unknown man in these realms; besides, he is only one of several *duces* mentioned in charters at this time.

Let us proceed. It would seem from several hints that Egberht's command or dominium, whatever its exact nature, was at first chiefly exercised in the western part of Wessex.

Under the year 823 (which ought to be corrected to 825) in the Chronicle we read that there was a battle between the Welsh and the men of Devon at Gafulford.

In this battle Egberht apparently commanded the English, for although the fact is not so stated in the A.-S.C., two charters, as Mr. Plummer has pointed out, were drawn up, "*quando Egbergтус rex exercitum Gewissorum movit contra Brettones*" (Birch, 390). These charters are otherwise dated August 19th, 825. Gafulford is no doubt Galford, in South Devon. This victory of Egberht's has been considered as the final subjugation of the West Welsh of Devon and Cornwall, who thenceforward became incorporated in Wessex, and the way in which it is described perhaps points to Devon having been the special *ducatus* of Egberht.

According to the Chronicle, the victory over the West Welsh was followed in the same year by another gained by Egberht over the Mercian King Beornwulf at Ellandune, in which there was a great slaughter. The situation of Ellandune is doubtful. There is an "Ellandune

with Allington" near Amesbury. On the other hand, Wroughton, situated where the Ridgeway crosses the Ermin Street, is also called Ellingdon, and was known as Elendune in Domesday. Each of these sites has been advocated (Plummer ii., 70 and 71), but the former seems the more probable. Ethelwerd tells us that in this fight Hun, "dux" of the province of the Sumersaetas, was killed. As Hun signs charters in 826 (Birch, 377, 390-392, 398), either the date in the Chronicle is wrong, or Ethelwerd was mistaken. It would seem probable that the date in the Chronicle is in fact wrong and should probably be 826, in which year William of Malmesbury puts the fight. This is more likely than that, after defeating the West Welsh in the autumn of 825, Ecgbert should have been able to defeat the Mercians the same year, and I would suggest that Ecgbert in fact usurped absolute authority in 825, when his first charters occur, and defeated the Mercians at Ellandune the year following.

After mentioning the victory of Ecgbert over Beornwulf, the Chronicle goes on to say that "he sent from the army his son, Aethelwulf, and Ealhstan, his bishop, and Wulfheard, his Ealdorman, into Kent with a large force, and they drove Baldred the King northwards over the Thames, and the men of Kent and the men of Surrey and the South Saxons and the East Saxons submitted to him, for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin."

Baldred was then King of Kent and of the dependent provinces just named. It is generally said that Baldred reigned in Kent as a dependant of the King of Mercia, and he doubtless did so, but as he struck coins there in his own name as Cuthred his predecessor also did, it is probable that this dependence was not so great as might be

supposed. The date of this conquest of Kent by Ecgberht as given in the Chronicle seems to me doubtful, and that document is so untrustworthy at this period, especially in the matter of dates, that one has the less hesitation in discarding its authority. It would seem more probable that the conquest of Kent took place in 827, when that late compiler, Roger of Wendover, dates it. Ecgberht calls Ealhstan "my bishop." As Ealhstan was bishop of Sherborne, it perhaps adds another reason for placing his *ducatus* in the west of Wessex.

Wulfheard must have been a very prominent personage in South Britain at this time. Not only does he witness several charters as other magnates do, down to the year 828, but Ecgberht made over to him a part of his own private domain in Hampshire, which he says had come to him by inheritance and probably through some female ancestor. We learn this from a charter (Birch, 377). The land in question consisted of 22 hides on both sides of the River Meone; that is to say, among the Meonwaras, who, according to Bede, were of Jutish descent as the men of Kent were. In the charter, Ecgberht calls himself King of the West Saxons, and he styles Wulfheard, in the Latin part of the charter, his *præfect*, while in the Saxon part of it he calls him his *reeve*. Four others are styled *præfects* or *reeves* beside himself, one of them being the Hun already mentioned. According to the A.-S.C., Wulfheard, in the year 837 (to be corrected to 839), fought at Hampton, *i.e.* Southampton, against thirty-five ships of the Norsemen and got a victory over them, and the same year he died (*op. cit. sub an.* 837). On the conquest of Kent with its dependencies, Ecgberht, who was no doubt an old man, nominated Aethelwulf as its King. "Filiis nostri Aethelulfi quem regem constituimus

in Cantia," are his words in a charter (*see* Birch, 395). Aethelwulf signs several charters as King of Kent, in some cases alone, and in others conjointly with Ecgberht, as King of Wessex.

As has long been known, and was specially emphasised by Messrs. Keary and Grueber in their catalogue of the A.-S. coins in the British Museum, the people of Wessex did not use any coins during Anglo-Saxon times until the end of Ecgberht's reign, perhaps not till that of Aethelwulf. Not only do we find no coins struck then by any of the earlier kings of Wessex, but according to Mr. Grueber no hoards of coins of the earlier period occur there, and it would seem very clear that it was only as ruler of Kent that Ecgberht struck coins, and that consequently all his coins are later than the year 826-7. With one exception the only place which appears as a mint on his coins is Dorobernia or Canterbury, where a large number of them were no doubt coined. A certain number of them have the name of St. Andrew upon the reverse, and they have been with great plausibility attributed to the Rochester mint, St. Andrew being the special saint of Rochester. Ecgberht seems to have taken over the whole of the moneyers employed by Baldred, his predecessor, in Kent, for their names, viz., Diormod, Dunun, Edhelmod, Oba, Sigestef, Swefheard, Tidbearht and Werheard occur on his coins, and we may take it as certain that whatever may be the case with his other coins, all the money of Ecgberht with the names of these moneyers was Kent money, and was struck after Baldred was driven out.

Under the year 826 (which ought to be read 828 or 829) we have in the A.-S.C. the statement, "and the same year the king of the East Angles and the people sought the alliance and protection of King Ecgberht for dread of

the Mercians; and the same year the East Angles slew Beornwulf, King of Mercia." This subjection or submission of East Anglia to Ecgberht is important and I propose to discuss it on another occasion. The death of Beornwulf was followed two years later by that of his successor Ludecan and his five ealdormen, when we are told that Wiglaf conquered the country of the Mercians. This was in 825, to be corrected to 827. Two years later, *i.e.*, in 829 or possibly in 828, we are told in the A.-S.C. that Ecgberht "conquered the kingdom of Mercia and all that was south of the Humber," that is to say he drove Wiglaf out and seized the throne of Mercia, and we are further told by the same authority that he led an army to Dore against the Northumbrians and that they there offered him obedience and allegiance and with that they separated (*vide sub ann.* 827). Dore is no doubt, as Mr. Plummer has pointed out, Dore, near Sheffield, which was on the Mercian frontier. How far we are to credit the statement of the submission of Northumbria at this time is doubtful. The submission of Mercia is attested by more distinct and positive evidence, namely that of coins. Among the coins found in London in the famous hoard presented by Sir Wollaston Franks to the British Museum, and described by Mr. Grueber with all his usual learning and insight, is one of great importance and interest, struck in the famous Mercian mint of London and bearing the inscription

LVN

tion on its reverse DONIA, being the first occurrence
CIVIT

of the name of the metropolitan city on an Anglo-Saxon coin. On the obverse of this coin and of a second one from the same hoard, Ecgberht styles himself Ecgberht Rex M., *i.e.*, Ecgberht King of the Mercians, being the only occasion

on which he does so. This second coin has the moneyer's name Redmund on it, who was also a moneyer employed by Wiglaf, King of the Mercians. We, therefore, have very strong evidence that Ecgberht coined money at Canterbury, Rochester, and London. The evidence is also very strong that all his coins were minted in Kent, and ought to be treated as Kentish coins and not as coins of Wessex. At all events, among his moneyers Beornmod, Bosel, Dealla, Debis, Diormod, Dudinc, Oba, Osmund, Swefheard, Tidbearht, and Tilwine all coined money with the Canterbury mint-mark, and some of them for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and I know of no evidence whatever of any Wessex coinage of Ecgberht.

According to the A.-S.C., Wiglaf returned to rule over Mercia after an absence of a year. It dates his return in 828, *i.e.*, in 830 or 831, and a document of his, dated September 1st, 831, speaks of that year as "*anno primo secundi regni mei.*" Birch, 400; see Plummer, ii., 78.

The great scarcity of Wiglaf's coins makes it probable that when he returned he did so not as absolute ruler of Mercia, but as a subordinate of Ecgberht, and that such coins as we have of his are of his first reign only. This seems confirmed by the fact that in the very year of Wiglaf's return we are told in the Chronicle that Ecgberht led an army against the North Welsh and forced them to obey him (*op. cit. sub ann. 828*). He would hardly have ventured thither if he had not been the real master and over-lord of Mercia. This view has been in part generally held from the time of Lappenberg.

For a year or two the Chronicle is silent about Ecgberht. When we next read of him it is in connection with the Norsemen. I have a strong opinion that the invasions of

the Norsemen, at this period, have been a good deal misunderstood. They came both to France and England as the close allies of the Celts, who had an old and a still living hatred of the Teutons. Their headquarters were very largely Brittany, the Channel Islands, Ireland, and probably also Cornwall, and it was thence that many of their raids came, and thither they retired with their booty. The famous Delgany hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins, the account of which in the *Numismatic Chronicle*² is one of the many memoirs it contains proving the learning and research of our President, has one very remarkable feature about it, beside the fact of its having been found in Ireland. This is a negative fact, namely, the absence from it of any coins of Ecgberht, and the presence in it of coins of the Kentish Kings, Cuthred and Baldred, but of no coins later than 824 A.D. This seems explainable only on the theory that it was the product of some Northern raid, made about or soon after the accession of Ecgberht, say about 824-825, which has escaped the very careless and ignorant chronicler.

I am disposed to think that it was these very Norsemen who, probably, were allied with the West Welsh when they fought against Ecgberht at Gafulford, and that, when they withdrew to their headquarters in Ireland, they took the Delgany hoard with them. As Mr. Green remarks, no coins earlier than 830 have occurred in the Swedish plunder hoards. We next read that the heathen men made a descent in the year 832, *i.e.*, 834 or 835, upon Sheppey, and the next year Ecgberht fought against a fleet of thirty-five ships of them at Carrum (*i.e.*, Charmouth in Dorsetshire), and the

² Ser. iii., 1862, p. 61 *sqq.*

heathen men maintained possession of the field, *i.e.*, they had the best of it.

There is very considerable doubt about this statement. It is repeated in the very same words, except the substitution of Aethelwulf for Ecgberht, under the year 843, which ought to be corrected to 845. It is quite incredible that a battle should have been repeated in all its details in this way, and the event no doubt took place under Aethelwulf. The year 834 is, it will be noted, 843 transposed.

In the year 835, *i.e.*, 837, we have a much more probable entry. We are told that a great hostile fleet came to the West Welsh (*i.e.*, to Cornwall) and they united together, that is the Norsemen and the Cornishmen, and fought against Ecgberht, King of the West Saxons. When he heard of it he went there with an army and fought against them at Hengestedun, *i.e.*, at Hengstone, and put both the Welsh and Danish men to flight (*op. cit. sub ann.* 835).

Next year, *i.e.*, in 836 (to be corrected to 838-9), Ecgberht, according to the A.-S.C., died after a reign of thirty-seven years and seven months (*id.*). It was once the fashion to very much exaggerate the status and position of Ecgberht, and to treat him as possessing an almost Imperial authority over all England. The A.-S.C., whose author had special reasons for exalting the grandfather of Alfred, describes him as a Bretwalda, a term implying a great anachronism; and it was gravely argued in the Middle Ages, and has been accepted by more modern historians, that he first constituted a true kingdom of England. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, he was originally a King of Kent, who, by good luck, and perhaps by the prestige he acquired in the Carlo-

vingian court, and perhaps, also, by the aid of more material resources derived thence, made himself master of Wessex, and exercised a dominant influence over Mercia and East Anglia. In his charters he styles himself "King of the West Saxons," *Occidentalium Saxonum Rex*; "King of the Gewissi," *rex Gewuissorum*; "King of Kent," *rex Cantie*; "King of the West Saxons, as well as of the Kent men," *rex occidentalium Saxonum necnon et Cantuariorum*, and once only, I believe, and this in a very doubtful and corrupt charter, "King of the Anglians," *rex Anglorum*. Nowhere does he lay claim, either in his charters or on his coins, to that position of a "King of all England" that some have made out for him. Nor was his power, so far as we can see, ever either so widespread or so real as that of the great Mercian ruler, Offa.

Ecgberht's charters were generally signed at one or other of his royal villas. His principal residences were apparently Kingston, in Surrey, and "Hompton," as it is called, in Hampshire, by which Southampton is doubtless meant. The charter granting lands in Hampshire to Wulfheard (Birch, 377) professes to have been written in *loco celebri ubi dicitur ac leah* (i.e., Ockley, in Surrey), while two others were signed at Criodantreop (? Crediton), when he was on the march against the Britons (Birch, 389, 390). There is a notice in a charter of Ecgberht whose phraseology has a certain primitive ring for the Numismatist, which I may here quote. The purchase money of certain land at Scirdun, or Sholden, in Kent, is stated to be *C mancuses in duabus armillis*, which was duly paid to Ecgberht in 836 by the Clerk of St. Peter's Abbey, afterwards St. Augustine's (Birch, 852).

A charter of Ecgberht's dated in 833 (Birch, 410) was signed at the Royal villa of Dornwrecestre, and

one dated in 838 (*id.* 418) was signed at the royal vica of Fraericburna. This is mentioned in the year 777 in the A.-S.C. as a royal vill of Offa's, and was perhaps in Mercia.

In the preceding paper the points which I have wished especially to emphasize are first, that Ecgberht was not a West Saxon by origin or descent at all, but a Kentish prince belonging to the royal house of Kent, and that his accession to the kingdom of the South of England meant the appropriation of Wessex by the royal house of Kent. Secondly, that he was the same Ecgberht who struck coins as King of Kent at the end of the eighth century. Thirdly, that he was very probably the Count Egbert who lived at Charlemagne's court. And lastly, that the later coinage of Ecgberht did not begin until about the year 825, when he first conquered Kent, and that it continued to be a purely Kent coinage, with Kentish moneyers, Kentish mints, and probably, also, with a circulation limited to Kent, and that we ought not to begin the series of Anglo-Saxon coins of Wessex, at all events, until after his reign. I propose in another paper to say something of his sons Aethelwulf and Aethelstan.

H. H. HOWORTH.

MISCELLANEA.

A NEW VARIETY OF THE HALF-GROAT OF CHARLES I.—From the beginning of his reign until 1630 Charles I. issued half-groats at the Tower more or less resembling his father's last coinage, having on both sides a rose crowned. These coins are known with the following mint-marks: lis (1625), cross on steps (1625-6), castle (1627), negro's head (1627), anchor (1628), heart (1629-30), and plume (1630). In this last year a change took place, and the King's bust replaced the rose on the obverse, while the royal arms in a shield were substituted for the second rose on the reverse. The mint-marks on the pieces of this issue are, plume (1630), and rose (1631), when a further alteration took place in the bust.

It will be seen, therefore, that, in 1630, the double rose half-groat and the bust and shield half-groat were both issued and both bore the plume mint-mark. I can add to these a coin of the following description:

Obv.—Crowned bust to left with ruff within inner circle, but dividing it below. Legend: CAROLVS . D : G :
MAG . . B : F : ET : H : REX. M.M. plume.

Rev.—Rose crowned. Legend: IVS THRONVM FIRMAT.
M.M. plume; no inner circle.

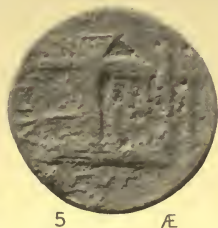
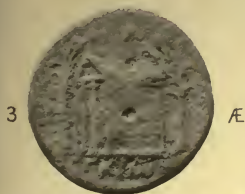
This piece, therefore, is of a type between those of the first and second coinages. That it was intentional, rather than a mistake, is likely because the plume mint-mark figures on both sides. Whether it is to be looked on as a trial-piece or not must be left to individual judgment. At all events, it appears to be so far unique.

L. A. LAWRENCE.



AUTOTYPE.





AUTOTYPE.



THE attention of Members of the Numismatic Society is specially drawn to the following Resolution of the Council, passed on the 20th April, 1899 :—

“It was Resolved that henceforth the Proceedings of the Society should be published with Part II. of the ‘Chronicle’ in each year; but that the List of Members should be issued with Part IV. as heretofore.”

IV.

OTANES, AND PHRAATES IV.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.



THE coins 1-3 described in the present paper were acquired by the British Museum some years after the publication of Professor Percy Gardner's well-known work on Parthian coinage, and are, I believe, unpublished.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Parthian king 1., wearing helmet ornamented with [stag's horn] and foreparts of stags; border of dots. Countermark, **ΟΤΑΝΝΗΣ** around bearded male head l., with head-dress.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣ ΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ**. Parthian king seated r. on throne, holding bow; in field r., **ΣΡ**

Α. Drachm. Size .75. Wt. 59.1 grs.
British Museum (purchased of Mr. C.
J. Rodgers in 1893). [Fig. 1 *obv.*]

2. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1, but countermark, **NH[C]** beside male head l. in helmet or cap with flaps?

Rev.—Similar to No. 1, but monogram in field r., **Ρ**

Æ. Drachm. Size .75. Wt. 52.8 grs.
British Museum (India Office Coll.).
[Fig. 2 *obv.*]

These drachms are of the not uncommon class ascribed by Gardner to Mithradates II (*circ.* B.C. 123—*circ.* B.C. 88). It is possible that they may belong to a somewhat later date (Phraates III?),¹ but in any case they can hardly be later than the middle of the first century B.C. Their interest lies, of course, in their countermarks. The clearest stamping is on No. 1, on which we see a head wearing apparently a kind of *polos* such as was sometimes assumed by the Achaemenid monarchs. This head is identified by the name **OTANNHC**. The same name is to be conjectured on No. 2, where the countermark is partly off the flan, but the small head appears to differ from that of No. 1, and the head-dress recalls that of a satrap, and is not unlike the "Scythian" helmet found on the earliest Arsacid drachms. The details, however, are not very distinct.

Otannes, or rather Otanes (Ὀτάνης), was a name borne by various Persians of noble rank, and occurs several times in the writings of Herodotus. Otanes, son of Pharnaspes,² was the first to detect the imposture of the false Smerdis, but when Darius Hystaspes claimed

¹ The remarkable coins published by Markoff and Rapson (see *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 203 f.) seem to me to necessitate several changes in the arrangement of the earlier Parthian series, and I hope before long to set forth my suggestions in detail.

² *Hdtus.*, iii., 68-84. On his family and royal connections, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iv., 257 f.

the throne (B.C. 521), he stood aside on condition that he and his descendants should be exempted from the royal authority, and that a Median dress and other honourable gifts should be annually presented. These conditions were faithfully observed, and "still to this day," says Herodotus (iii., 83), "the family of Otanes continues to be the only free family in Persia, and those who belong to it submit to the rule of the king only so far as they themselves choose, though they are bound at the same time to observe the laws of the land."

Another Otanes, who lived in the sixth century, was a Persian general and judge. He was the son of Sisamnes, the royal judge who was put to death and then flayed by Cambyses for delivering a wrongful judgment procured by a bribe. Cambyses, according to the grim story of Herodotus (v., 25), stretched the skin of Sisamnes on the judicial bench, and then promoted Otanes to his father's post, bidding him to bear in mind "on what seat he sat to administer justice." In the time of Alexander another Otanes is mentioned (Arrian, *Anab.*, 3, 8, 5) as a Persian commander, but there seems to be no record of any Otanes of the period of our coins. The name, however, was doubtless long existent, for inscriptions of Termessus in Pisidia relate to a *Marcus Aurelius* Platonianos Otanes, a priest of Termessus.³

The Otanes of the coins may, conceivably, be a satrap who rebelled against the Parthian king, and who stamped the current Arsacid money with his own head; but I am inclined rather to think that he was a governor or other

³ *C. I. G.*, No. 4366²; Lanckoronski, *Villes de la Pamphylie*, ii., inscriptions Nos. 6, 49, 123; G. Cousin in *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1899, pp. 175, 190.

high official of Persis, and not necessarily antagonistic to Arsaces. Persis, though of course subordinate to Parthia, seems to have retained the privilege of coinage throughout the period of Arsacid rule.⁴ It is even possible that we have here to do with some descendant of Otanes, the independent son of Pharnaspes.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Parthian king l., bearded, wearing diadem, jointed necklace with clasp, and cuirass; behind head, crescent and star; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΑΡ]Ε ΑΚΟΥΔΙΟ[Ε ?]
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΥ ΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
 [Φ]ΡΑΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ [Φ]ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣΓΟΣ.

Parthian king seated r. on throne, holding bow; in field r., ΣΡ

Æ. Drachm. Size .85. Wt. 63 grs.
 British Museum (purchased in 1883
 from A. Coroyantz). [Fig. 3.]

4. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 3, but without crescent and star; before neck, pellet.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΕ ΑΡΕ ΑΚΟΥ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΥΤΤ ΑΤΟΡΟ Ε
 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΦΙΛΕΛ
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΛΗΝΟΕ Similar to No. 3.

Æ. Drachm. Size .75. Wt. 60.3 grs.
 British Museum (purchased in 1877
 from Rollin) = Gardner, *Parthian
 Coinage*, p. 37, "Mithradates III."
 [Fig. 4.]

⁴ The coinage of Persis (usually with Fire Altar and Pehlvi inscriptions) and the kindred coinage now sometimes assigned to Elymais still need further investigation. M. Drouin's papers on these coins are well known, and it is much to be wished that he may have leisure to give us a complete *corpus* of all the known varieties.

No. 3 is remarkable in several respects. It furnishes an almost unique instance of a date appearing on a Parthian *drachm*, for ΓοΣ can hardly be interpreted except as a date—namely, year “273” of the Seleucid era, equivalent to B.C. 40-39.

It gives the personal name (Phraates) of the issuer, in addition to the dynastic name “Arsaces,” which, as a rule, is alone present on the coins. Whenever the personal name occurs (except, perhaps, in the case of the latest Parthian kings) it seems to indicate either that two rival sovereigns were in the field, or that two sovereigns were reigning jointly. Thus, Vonones I commemorates his victory over Artabanus by the inscription, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ**; Goterzes, Pacorus II, and Artabanus “IV” protest against rival claims by placing their individual names upon their money. The names of Orodes I and his son Pacorus I also appear upon the coins, though in this case it is a question not of a disputed succession, but of a joint rule. The “Phraates” mentioned on our No. 3 must, therefore, have been either the rival or the associate of another “Arsaces.”

The expression **ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ** is remarkable, and seems to mean “Arsaces whose personal name is Phraates.” It nearly finds a parallel in the coin-inscription of Goterzes: **ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΥΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ** (Gardner, p. 49, No. 25; p. 64).⁵

⁵ The incomplete letter of ΔΙΟ. in the inscription of No. 3 would seem to be Ε, but the application of the name of Zeus (ΔΙΟΣ) to a Parthian king is without example on the coins. Perhaps the true reading is ΔΙΟΥ, in which case the word would be equivalent to the ΘΕΟΥ which appears on the coins attributed by Gardner (p. 37) to Mithradates III.

The portrait and necklace of No. 3 are similar to those on No. 4, a coin which, together with other similar pieces (usually with the inscription **ΘΕΟΥ**), has been assigned by Gardner to Mithradates III, the brother, and for a time the rival, of the famous Orodes. Yet, plausible as this attribution appears, it now seems to be negatived by the appearance of the name "Phraates." Now, this Phraates can hardly be any other than Phraates IV, the son and successor of Orodes, and, indeed, if **ΓΟΣ** be accepted as a date, the coin is fixed to the year 40-39 before our era. This date falls within the reign of Orodes, who did not die till B.C. 37, but we know from Dio (49, 23) and Justin (42, 4) that Phraates was actually appointed king *in the lifetime of his father*. These writers assign the appointment of Phraates to the year 38 or 37, representing it as due to the helpless and despairing condition of Orodes after the loss of his favourite son Pacorus in the summer (9th June) of B.C. 38. Their account is thus, so far, inconsistent with the date on our coin, but it is quite possible that Phraates—the most unscrupulous of Parthian kings—had already assumed the royal title in B.C. 40-39, perhaps taking advantage of Pacorus's absence in Syria and Asia Minor. He would then have begun to issue coins of a somewhat new design, but still bearing the head of Orodes.

The coin No. 4 I imagine also to have been struck at about the same period as No. 3, and in the use of the participle **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ** instead of the customary **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** we may perhaps detect the existence of a joint rule. Mr. Gardner (p. 37) was somewhat inclined to think that the use of the participle was a meaningless variety of **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, yet, as I have elsewhere suggested (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 109), the participle some-

times seems to indicate that the issuer claims something less than complete authority over the coin. Thus we find Antimachus, King of Bactria, making use of **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ** when he strikes a coin commemorating another Bactrian king—his predecessor Euthydemus, **ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ**.

If, then, Nos. 3 and 4 are assigned to the closing years of Orodes, B.C. 40-37, we are almost compelled to place in the same period the coins with similar portrait and necklace which Gardner has assigned to Mithradates III, and to suppose that they were all issued in the reign of Orodes but under the influence of Phraates.⁶ Mr. Gardner has, indeed, already pointed out that the portrait of his "Mithradates III" closely resembles that of Orodes, though he has supposed the resemblance to be due to the family likeness between the two brothers.

WARWICK WROTH.

⁶ This attribution is not free from at least one difficulty—namely, that some of the specimens have the simple title **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ**, while the coins that are admitted to be of Orodes have always the title **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ**. Gutschmid (*Geschichte Irans.*, p. 83) maintains that the coins of Gardner's "Mithradates III" belong to Phraates III (B.C. 70-57), because they generally have the title **ΘΕΟΥ**, a title known from Phlegon to have been borne by Phraates III. Our drachm (No. 3) with the name "Phraates" would support Gutschmid's contention, were it not for its date, B.C. 40-39, which is several years subsequent to the death of Phraates III.

It should perhaps be added that the correctness of Gardner's reading of the coin-inscription of Goterzes (p. 93 *supra*) is quite borne out by a drachm acquired by the British Museum in 1881. Gutschmid (*op. cit.*, p. 123) disputed the reading, and gives the almost humorous rendering:—"Goterzes, König der Könige der Areaner, Sohn des Ge, Kalymenos [*alter ego?*] des Artabanos."

V.

ΔΩΡΕΑ CITOY TAPCΩ.



TESSÈRE DE TARROS.

LES provinces romaines de l'Orient et particulièrement l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie, épuisées par les déprédations des magistrats-gouverneurs de la République romaine, ruinées par les publicains et les manieurs d'argent du genre d'un Brutus, affaiblies par les troubles consécutifs à la guerre de Mithridate et aux guerres civiles, commencent à reprendre haleine sous l'Empire. L'industrie, source de toute fortune pour ces pays, renaît sous Auguste et continue de prospérer sous ses successeurs du 1^{er} siècle. Les fabriques d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie, d'Egypte, d'Ephèse, de Milet reprennent activité et répandent leurs produits dans l'Occident ; des centaines des villes de moindre importance les suivent dans cette voie ; les capitaux s'amassent de nouveau dans les mains des citoyens des grands centres industriels et les donations, les constructions, les fêtes dont des milliers d'in-

scriptions ont gardé le souvenir, témoignent de la puissance économique du pays et de la prodigalité des grands capitalistes propriétaires des cités gréco-asiatiques. Il ne faut que relire la grande inscription du rhodiapolitain Opramoas,¹ ce millionnaire lycien, pour entrevoir cette expansion vraiment merveilleuse des forces économiques d'un pays, cette résurrection de la vie hellénistique, créée par Alexandre, sous un régime qui en matière de politique administrative et économique s'appliquait à imiter ses prédécesseurs.

Les empereurs eux-mêmes, dont l'attention au premier siècle après J.-Chr. se tournait plutôt vers l'Occident qu'ils réorganisaient, en prenant le plus souvent modèle sur le monde hellénistique, voyant cette renaissance de l'Orient qui était leur ressource principale en matière d'impôts en argent, où ils cherchaient et trouvaient toujours des capitaux pour leurs guerres, l'entretien de l'armée et de leur vie parfois si luxueuse, se sentent attirés par cet Orient si riche et si productif, patrie de tout luxe et de tout raffinement, patrie des superstitions et du culte, qui conquéraient le monde, patrie enfin du système monarchique qu'on cherchait de plus en plus à substituer à ce mélange inorganique de république et de monarchie créé par Auguste. Néron se sentait en outre attiré par l'Orient plutôt comme artiste et ami des arts et de la culture grecque, mais Adrien, suivant en cela l'exemple de son prédécesseur Trajan, qui avait réorganisé la Bithynie et le Pont, fait ses voyages dans l'Orient comme administrateur et réorganisateur, cherche et trouve en Asie et en Egypte les principes de sa politique

¹ Voy. la publication de la suite des décrets en l'honneur d'Opramoas faite par M. Heberdey. (Wien, 1896.)

administrative et s'y sent raffermi dans ses idées de monarque absolu. Ses successeurs immédiats sont trop occupés de leurs guerres sur le Danube et le Rhin pour pouvoir suivre la politique orientale d'Adrien, mais les idées d'Adrien sont reprises par la dynastie des Sévères, la première dynastie qui ait placé une femme d'Orient sur le trône et donné à Rome des empereurs semi-orientaux comme Caracalla, Elagabale et Alexandre Sévère.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de développer les idées que nous venons d'esquisser, mais ces quelques indications étaient nécessaires à l'intelligence de quelques faits qui expliquent et mettent en pleine lumière la politique orientale des empereurs du II^e et III^e siècle après J.-Chr.

Ce qui manquait aux pays industriels de l'Orient c'étaient les denrées naturelles, surtout le blé ; on en produisait beaucoup dans les grands domaines de la province d'Asie, de la Bithynie, de la Galatie,² mais cette production ne suffisait pas à la population du reste de l'Asie et de la Syrie. Les villes industrielles de la Lycie, de la Pisidie, de la Cilicie, de la Syrie souffraient beaucoup de disettes produites par les mauvaises récoltes dans les provinces agricoles de l'Asie. Leur principale ressource dans ces temps de disette était toujours l'Egypte, pays agricole par excellence, et nous voyons souvent aux temps hellénistiques l'Egypte secourir les ville de l'Asie.³

² Sur ces domaines voy. Ramsay, *Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 173, et *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 278-293 ; Anderson, *Journal of Hellen. Studies*, 1897, p. 418, et 1899, p. 76 ; Schulten, *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1898, p. 221 suiv. ; et Rostowzew, *Histoire de la ferme d'état sous l'empire romain*, p. 144 et suiv. (Petersbourg, 1899, en russe).

³ Voy. par ex. Athnod. Tars., apud Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*,

Il en fut autrement dans l'empire romain ; le grain d'Egypte fut exclu de la circulation libre ; la ville de Rome devint le dépôt unique du blé égyptien et la plèbe romaine nourrie par les empereurs le consommait à elle seule. Pareille mesure provoqua des famines dans l'Orient qui implora la permission d'acheter du blé en Egypte et parfois l'obtint. Sous Auguste la Judée reçoit la permission du préfet d'Egypte de nourrir le peuple du blé acheté en Egypte.⁴ C'est un fait très caractéristique qu'il faille descendre jusqu'au règne d'Adrien pour retrouver mention du blé égyptien transporté en Asie. Sous Adrien il s'agit de concessions du blé égyptien faites aux villes d'Ephèse et de Tralles.⁵ D'autres textes nous parlent de cadeaux faits par Adrien aux villes grecques, de mesures prises pour nourrir et embellir les villes de l'Orient,⁶ ce qui montre assez l'intérêt particulier qu'Adrien portait à l'Orient.

Mais c'est surtout sous la dynastie des Sévères que les libéralités impériales se multiplient. Les monnaies fournissent à ce sujet des renseignements précis complétés par d'autres données. Septime Sévère, lors de la guerre contre Pescennius Niger, récompense la cité de

p. 14 ed. Sylb. (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iii., p. 487) : οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν (Σάραπιν) ἱστοροῦσι χαριστήριον ὑπὸ Σινωπέων Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων πεμφθῆναι βασιλεῖ δὲ λιμῷ τρῦχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μεταπεμψάμενος σίτον ἀνεκτήσατο. . . . Ἰσίδωρος μόνος παρὰ Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν τὸ ἄγαλμα μεταχθῆναι λέγει ἐν σιτοδείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν γενομένων καὶ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου διατραφέντων.

⁴ Joseph., arch., 15, 9, 2 ; Hirschfeld, *Annona* (Philologus, 1870), p. 24 note.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 286 ; *Bull. de corr. hell.*, i., 291 ; C. I. Gr., ii., 2927 et 2930 ; Hirschfeld, *Annona*, p. 27 note ; Liebenam, *Die Städteverwaltung*, p. 113, 2.

⁶ Dio, 69, 5, 3 et 16, 2 (Athènes).

Laodicée, qui tint bon contre l'usurpateur, en lui assignant une somme d'argent pour acheter du blé⁷ et Caracalla lors de son voyage en Orient renouvelle et augmente peut-être cette donation, comme on peut l'induire des monnaies de Laodicée à la légende **AETERNVM BENEFICIVM** et au type du modius.⁸ Une libéralité du même genre nous est connue pour le temps d'Elagabale à Sidon.⁹ Ce n'était pas une donation du blé proprement dite; la ville recevait un capital dont les revenus devaient être assignés aux magistrats chargés de veiller à l'approvisionnement de la ville aux *σιτώναι* ou *ἀγορανόμοι*.

Des donations en blé nous sont connues par d'autres monnaies à Tarse en Cilicie: les monnaies de Caracalla et d'Alexandre Sévère mentionnent une *δωρεὰ σείτου* ou *Ταρσοῦ σείτος*. Les types principaux de ces monnaies ont été décrits par M. Hill dans son catalogue des monnaies de la Cilicie.¹⁰ Nous saisissons cette occasion pour remercier vivement M. Hill de la permission qu'il nous a donnée de citer les bonnes feuilles de son catalogue qui paraîtra prochainement. Il suffira de donner ici les types les plus caractéristiques :

1. Hill, No. 198 : **AVT . KAI . M . AVP . CENVHPOC . ANTΩNEINOC**, and in field, Π Π. Bust of Caracalla r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

⁷ Malalas, xii., 293 (Bonn) : καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιτωνικὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐτήσια θεσπίσας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν. Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum*, iii., 321.

⁸ Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, iii., 321 ; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Galatia, &c.*, p. 260.

⁹ Eckhel, *l.c.* ; Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. 261 suiv., Nos. 1795-1802.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Cilicia, &c.*, introd. p. xcv et cxv, et p. 199, Nos. 198-201, comp. p. 202, No. 213.

Rev.—**ΑΝΤΩΝΙ**(νι)**ΑΝΗΣ** **ΣΕΝΗ**(ριανῆς) **ΑΔΡ-**
(ιανῆς); in ex., **ΤΑΡCΟΥ** **ΣΕΙΤΟC**; in field
above, **Γ, Β**; l., **Α**; r., **Μ, Κ**. Galley sailing to
l.; below, fishes (v. notre dessin).



2. No. 213: [**Α. Κ. Μ. Α.**] **ΣΕΟΝ**(ῆρος) **ΑΛΕΞΙΑΝ-**
ΔΡΟC. ΣΕΒ., and in field, **Π Π**. Bust of
Severus Alexander r., wearing crown of demi-
ourgos and draped.

Rev.—**ΔΩΡΕΑ. ΑΛΕΧΑΝ**[δρ]**ΟΝ** **ΤΑ**(ρσῶ) **ΜΗ-**
(τροπόλει); in field, l., **Α, Μ, Γ**; r., [**Κ**] [**Β**].
Galley sailing r. (the sail appears to be repre-
sented wrongly); below it, two dolphins r. and l.,
with their heads to a circle between them.

Comp. la monnaie de Caracalla publiée par Babelon¹¹
à la légende *δωρεὰ σείτου ἀπὸ Ἑγύπτου* (*sic*) *Ταρσῶ* et
le type de Triptolème sur le char attelé de dragons ailés.

Cette série monétaire est très intéressante de plusieurs
points de vue. Une question chronologique se pose tout
d'abord. Quand et à quelle occasion eut lieu le cadeau
de Caracalla à la ville de Tarse? On peut penser soit à
l'époque où Caracalla allant en Asie pour la première
fois remettait l'ordre dans les affaires,¹² soit à la période

¹¹ *Ann. de numismatique*, 1883, p. 20.

¹² Herod., 4, 8, 6.

qui suivit la révolution d'Égypte. Toutefois il est bien possible que les troubles d'Égypte soient en rapport avec les libéralités mentionnées de Caracalla. Le type des monnaies frappées à propos de la soumission de l'Égypte¹³ semble indiquer que la cause principale de l'insurrection et des représailles qui la suivirent fut les exactions en nature et en argent ordonnées par Caracalla lorsqu'il préparait l'expédition parthique.¹⁴ Le blé qui fut donné à Tarse provenait, comme nous l'avons vu, des greniers de l'Égypte. Tarsos a dû rendre quelques services aux empereurs, soit avant la révolte d'Égypte dans la première guerre, soit pendant et après la révolte ; non content de lui donner des cadeaux en blé Caracalla lui assigne le surnom honorifique d'Ἀντωνινανή. Il est bien possible que la riche cité industrielle de la Cilicie a aidé l'empereur de son argent lors de ces entreprises guerrières. On assignerait volontiers les mêmes causes aux cadeaux et honneurs que Tarsos reçut d'Alexandre Sévère.¹⁵

A l'une des deux distributions mentionnées se rapporte un monument curieux que j'ai trouvé dans la riche collection des tessères en plomb du British Museum. C'est

¹³ Cohen, iv., p. 179, No. 334 : "Caracalla en habit militaire debout à g. foulant aux pieds un crocodile, tenant une baste et recevant deux épis que lui présente l'Afrique (plutôt l'Égypte) qui tient un sistre."

¹⁴ Cf. *Griechische Urkunden des Berliner Museums*, No. 655.

¹⁵ Il est à noter que les surnoms honorifiques de Tarsos ne commencent qu'avec Adrien, ce qui est la règle pour la plupart de villes asiatiques. Même remarque pour les titres *μητρόπολις* et *νεοκόρος*. Comp. pour les temps postérieurs la monnaie d'Aurélien au type de la femme debout accostée de deux *modii* sur lesquels elle pose ses mains et à la légende *Donatio col. Cremn(ae)* de Cremna en Pisidie (*Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, p. ciii de l'introduction) et les exemples cités par Hill, l.c.

une tessère carrée (17-18,5 mill.) portant d'un côté la légende **TAP** et au revers une galère munie d'une voile et de rames.¹⁶ Coïncidence à noter : la voile de la galère comme aux Nos. 200, 201, et 205 de Hill est représentée enflée à gauche dans le sens opposé au mouvement du vaisseau. Il n'est pas douteux que nous ayons ici une tessère destinée à la distribution de la libéralité impériale analogue aux tessères du même genre employées pour les distributions impériales à Rome.¹⁷ L'usage de tessères dans ces occasions ne fut pas cependant importé de Rome. On se servait de tessères en plomb dans les distributions qui se faisaient à Athènes et on doit sûrement assigner cet usage aux tessères très nombreuses trouvées à Athènes et ayant pour types des épis réunis au caducée, à la corne d'abondance, etc.¹⁸ Je crois aussi que les marques signées par les agoranomes n'avaient pas d'autre usage ;¹⁹ c'est chose connue qu'il appartenait aux agoranomes de veiller à l'approvisionnement de la ville.²⁰ Il est plus que probable que l'usage de tessères fut importé d'Athènes

¹⁶ Voy. la figure en tête de l'article. Il y a un autre exemplaire à Florence.

¹⁷ Voy. notre *Etude sur les plombs antiques* dans *Rev. num.*, 1898, p. 256 suiv.

¹⁸ Voy. Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters* dans *Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien*, xxvi. (1875), p. 594.

¹⁹ Voy. Benndorf, l.l., p. 595 ; Dumont, *de plumbeis apud graecos tesseris*, p. 77 ; Arth. Engel, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1884, pp. 6, 7, Nos. 23-26.

²⁰ Comp. aussi un plomb d'Athènes publié par Margaritis, *Rev. num.*, 1886, p. 24, No. 44 : ΓΡΑΜ . ΒΟΥ . Α—ΥΡ . ΒΑΚΚΟΥ = γραμματέως βου(λῆς) Ἀὐρ(ηλίου) · Βάσσοῦ. Mercure debout de face regardant à gauche, tenant de la main droite une bourse et de la gauche un caducée. *Rev.*—Flan lisse. Pl. IV, 12. Ce plomb du II^e siècle après J.-Chr. est à comparer aux tessères que nous citons plus loin.

à Rome et qu'il était répandu non seulement à Athènes, mais aussi dans tout l'Orient avant l'époque romaine. Ce qui confirme notre hypothèse c'est le fait que les tessères les plus anciennes signées du nom d'un empereur romain proviennent d'Athènes.²¹ Les tessères égyptiennes de l'époque ptolémaïque prouvent d'autre part qu'on connaissait l'usage des tessères ailleurs qu'à Athènes.²² Mais la plupart des monuments qui attestent l'usage des tessères en Asie Mineure et en Egypte appartiennent à une époque bien postérieure à l'hellénisme, à l'époque de l'épanouissement économique des provinces asiatiques, c'est à dire au II^e et III^e siècle de notre ère. Les séries des plombs de l'Asie Mineure étant trop peu connues, nous ne pouvons citer qu'un nombre très restreint de monuments qui se rapportent probablement à des distributions municipales. Ce sont les suivants :

1. Riche série de tessères en terre cuite et en plomb trouvée à Palmyre et publiée en partie par M. de Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques* (Paris, 1868), p. 76 et suiv. et *Appendice*, p. 159 et suiv.

Deux catégories de ces tessères se rapportent sûrement à des distributions municipales. Celle des tessères dites funéraires (Nos. 125-131, 148 et 150-152) que nous croyons émises par les héritiers des grands personnages mentionnés sur ces tessères à l'occasion de leur mort pour servir à des distributions qui suivaient les funérailles. La grande quantité des tessères du même type et les types eux-mêmes confirment notre hypothèse. A cette série se rattache étroitement une autre qui, outre un

²¹ Voy. notre *Etude sur les plombs antiques* dans *Rev. num.*, 1898, p. 7 et suiv., Nos. I, II, et *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1884, p. 6 : **CEB**. Tête d'homme à dr. *Rev.*—**AN** grénétis. D. 11 mill.

²² Voy. mon *Etude*, *Rev. num.*, 1899, p. 58.

nom, mentionne encore les denrées distribuées : le blé et l'huile (Nos. 146-147, cf. 132 ; 143 et 157 (Appendice, p. 159) ; le chiffre sur la dernière des tessères citées peut indiquer la quantité ou la valeur du cadeau. Cette série ne doit pas être considérée comme émise à la suite de la mort d'un personnage ; elle peut se rapporter à des distributions faites par des donateurs vivants.²³ Les autres tessères publiées par de Vogüé qui ne diffèrent que peu des séries citées peuvent se rapporter à des cas semblables.

2. Un plomb provenant de Nicée et publié incomplètement par Payne-Knight, *Nummi veteres in museo Ricardi Payne-Knight asservati*, Londres, 1830, p. 137.

Athéna à gauche s'appuyant sur son bouclier et présentant une patère ; au pourtour **ΑΞΕΙΝΙΔΟC**
CTPA = 'Αξιείνιδος στρα(τηγού).



Rev.—Monogramme des lettres **NOY** = νοῦ(μνος) ?
D. 20 mill. British Museum.

3. Corne d'abondance ; au pourtour **ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥC**
ΤΩ//ΙCΙΗC.

Rev.—B.

D. 16 mill. Provenance inconnue. Ros-tovtsew et Prou, *Catalogue des plombs antiques*, No. 431.

²³ Comp. Waddington, *Inscriptions de la Syrie*, 2585 = Vogüé, 16 ; Waddington, 2598 = C. I. Gr., 4483 = Vogüé, 15 ; Waddington, 2588 = Vogüé, 3 ; et Waddington, 2606a = C. I. Gr., 4485.

4. Cybèle de face assise sur un trône entre deux lions, tenant de la main droite une patère; au pourtour
ΔΙΟCΙΕΡΕCΑΚΕΡΔ = Διὸς ἱερε(ὺς) Σακέρδ(ως).²⁴

Rev.—Lisse.

D. 18 mill. Arth. Engel, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 1884, No. 49 (Pl. II), et Rostovtsew et Prou, *Catalogue*, No. 411.

5. **ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑC ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΗC** au pourtour, au milieu un sceptre.

Rev.—Α en contremarque au milieu du champ. Margaritis, *Rev. num.*, 1886, p. 26, No. 62, et Pl. V, 12.

Tous ces plombs mentionnant des dynastes, des magistrats et des prêtres, ont été émis probablement à l'occasion d'une distribution faite par ces personnages. Nous avons sur le mode de ces distributions un texte curieux et peu utilisé de Malalas, xii, p. 289 ed. Bonn. (comp. Beurlier, *Rev. num.*, 1894, p. 297 suiv.): un syriarche nommé Artabanes μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸ στεφάνιον τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐν Δάφνῃ ἐφιλοτιμήσατο ῥίψας ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ Δάφνῃ τῷ δήμῳ καλαμίων συντόμια πολλὰ ἄρτων διαιωνίζόντων²⁵ καλέσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρτους πολι-

²⁴ M. Hill propose de lire Διοσιερε(ιτων) Σακέρδ(ως), ce qui me paraît très probable, quoique en ce cas Σακέρδ(ως) pris comme nom serait incompréhensible, pris comme titre insolite.

²⁵ On distribuait dans les villes grecques aussi bien le blé que le pain. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple tout récent voy. *Jahreshefte des österr. archaeolog. Instituts*, B. iii., Beiblatt, p. 87 (Heberdey), une inscription d'Ephèse : ἐπὶ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀττάλου Μηνοφίλου ἀγορανόμου καὶ πανηγυριάρχου τῶν μεγάλων Πασιθέων κόρος ἀγνεία ἄρτου λείτρα μία οὖν. β' ὀβολῶν β'. Ce qui veut dire que sous un tel le pain abondait et était bon, qu'il en vendait une pièce d'une litra et deux onces pour deux oboles, comp. C. I. Gr., 2374a (Paros), on loue un agoranome d'avoir fait des efforts : ὅπως ὁ δῆμος [ἐν] εὐετηρία καὶ δαψιλείᾳ ὑπάρχῃ [χρ]ώμενος ἄρτοις καὶ ἀλφίτοις ὡς ἀξιωτάτοις βελτίστοις.

τικοὺς διὰ τὸ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ πόλει τούτους χαρίσασθαι ἀφορίσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χωρίων πρόσδοον ἀναλογουμένην εἰς λόγων τῶν αὐτῶν ἄρτων.

Godefroy dans son commentaire au Code Théodosien (xiv, 2, p. 240, 241) a bien vu que ces *καλαμίων συντόμια* étaient des tessères en bois tout à fait analogues aux *tesserae frumentariae* de Rome, qui elles aussi étaient probablement en bois et servaient comme billets autorisant une fois pour toutes un citoyen à recevoir son blé dans les distributions mensuelles.²⁶ C'est ainsi que nous devons reconstituer le mode des distributions des dons perpétuels comme celui d'Artabane et de Septime Sévère.

On procédait autrement quand il s'agissait d'un don non périodique d'une *δωρεά*. De grandes tessères en bois au nom du participant, ou anonymes, non renouvelables et qui représentaient une valeur qu'on pouvait léguer, vendre, etc. étaient inutiles ; on se contentait de couler un certain nombre de *tesserae numariae* comme celle de Tarsos, de Nicée, et celles de Palmyre. En les présentant on recevait sa portion du don en blé ou autres denrées, parfois en argent. Une fois la distribution faite les tessères perdaient toute valeur, ce qui explique la grande quantité de tessères palmyréniennes en terre cuite, qu'on ne pouvait pas refondre comme celles qui étaient en plomb.

M. ROSTOWZEW.

PARIS, le 7 Juillet, 1900.

²⁶ Voy. à ce sujet mon *Etude sur les plombs antiques*, dans *Rev. num.*, 1898, p. 256 suiv.

VI.

L'ATELIER MONÉTAIRE DE LONDRES (LONDINIUM) PENDANT LA PÉRIODE CONSTANTINIENNE.¹

(Voir Planches IV—V.)

PREMIÈRE ÉMISSION.

FRAPPÉE depuis le 25 Juillet 306, date de la mort de Constance-Chlore, jusqu'au mois de Mai 309, époque de la reconnaissance de Constantin et Maximin Daja comme Augustes par Galère.

Les monnaies de Maximin Auguste ne paraissent pas dans cette émission. Elle peut se diviser elle-même en deux parties : avant et après le mariage de Constantin et de Fausta fille de Maximien Hercule, le 31 Mars 307. C'est en effet à l'occasion de ce mariage que Constantin fut proclamé Auguste à Trèves par Maximien Hercule.

En conséquence, la première partie de l'émission comprend : 1° des pièces commémoratives de Constance-Chlore frappées après sa mort en 306 ; 2° des monnaies de Sévère Auguste, qui reçut ce titre de Galère après la mort de Constance-Chlore, et qui périt lui-même en Italie au printemps

¹ Le Comte de Salis a publié dans la *Numismatic Chronicle* de 1867, New Series, vii., p. 57 *et seq.*, un important travail sur l'atelier de Londres : *Roman Coins struck in Britain*. Je renverrai aux planches de ce travail pour certaines monnaies qui y sont représentées.

de 307 ;² 3° celles de Maximin Daja ; César depuis 305 ; et enfin, de Constantin César, qui fut élevé à ce dernier rang au même temps que Sévère à celui d'Auguste. La seconde partie comprend une série de pièces de Constantin Auguste, qui porta ce titre sur les monnaies frappées dans ses états et dans ceux de Maxence—c'est à dire, en Gaule, Bretagne, Espagne, Italie, dès qu'il eut été reconnu comme tel par Maximien Hercule le 31 Mars 307. C'est à cette seconde partie qu'il faut également attribuer, pour des raisons qui seront exposées plus loin, les monnaies de Maximien Hercule frappées dans cette période.

Les monnaies de bronze (folles) de cette émission ont le plus souvent des poids oscillant entre 8 grammes 50 centigrammes et 6 grammes 30 centigrammes, et des diamètres de 25 à 28 millimètres. Quelques-unes font néanmoins exception ; ce sont les pièces frappées dans le courant de l'année 306, qui ont encore les poids plus lourds de 10 et 11 grammes et les diamètres de 29 à 30 millimètres des grands folles frappés sous Dioclétien et encore en l'année 305. Il semble que ce fut seulement après s'être rapproché de Maxence, proclamé empereur à Rome par un mouvement populaire et prétorien en Octobre 306, que Constantin fit frapper surtout des folles de poids réduit pour avoir une monnaie de même poids que celle de Maxence. Certaines de ces pièces même ne pèsent plus que 5 gr. 50 et 5 gr. 30.

² Sévère périt pendant l'invasion de Galère en Italie (Anonymus Valesii, 4, 10, édition Teubner), or le panégyrique d'Eumène VI, 1 (Maximiano et Constantino) prononcé à Trèves le 31 Mars 307, en l'honneur du mariage de Constantin, parle de l'invasion de Galère en Italie comme prochaine.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

Antérieure au 31 Mars 307.

Avec l'exergue unique $\frac{|}{\text{P L N}}$ ³

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—La légende MEMORIA FELIX ; et comme type : un autel allumé et orné de guirlandes ; de chaque côté de la base un aigle.

Au droit.—DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO. Avec son buste lauré, voilé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 179 ;⁴ BR. MVS. ;⁵ 25 m.m.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Avec le génie coiffé du modius, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. SEVERVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite ; BR. MVS. ; 99 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 1.]

2. IMP. C. SEVERVS PIVS FEL. AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 35 ; BR. MVS. ; 28 m.m.

III. *Au revers*.—GENIO POP. ROM. Même type du revers que pour les pièces précédentes.

Au droit. 1.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 56 ; BR. MVS. ; 28 m.m.

³ L'atelier de Londinium fonctionne avec une seule officine indiquée dans la plupart des émissions par la lettre P = *prima*, de 306-326.

⁴ Les numéros indiqués de Cohen sont ceux de la deuxième édition, tome vii., 1888.

⁵ Les abréviations suivantes seront usitées dans ce travail : BR. MVS. = British Museum ; FR. = Cabinet de France ; H. MVS. V. = Hof Museum, Vienne ; les autres collections sont désignées en toutes lettres.

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 57; FR. 8·851.

3. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Variété inédite différant par le buste de Cohen, 202; BR. MVS.; 26 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 2.]

IV. *Au revers*.—Même légende. Génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 196; BR. MVS.; FR. 9091; 8 gr. 50; 27 m.m.

V. *Au revers*.—MARS VICTOR. Mars nu, marchant à droite, avec le manteau flottant, portant une haste et un trophée.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 322; BR. MVS.; 26 m.m.

VI. *Au revers*.—MARTI PACIF. Mars marchant à gauche, tenant une branche d'olivier de la main droite, et de la gauche une haste et un bouclier.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 356; BR. MVS.; FR. 9121; 6 gr. 20; 26 m.m.

VII. *Au revers*.—ROMAE AETER. Rome assise à gauche dans un temple à six colonnes, tenant un sceptre et un globe.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite; pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 26 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 3.]⁶

⁶ L'atelier de Londinium, sous le règne de Constantin César et Auguste, émit les pièces de cet empereur en beaucoup plus grand nombre que celles de ses contemporains. Dans d'autres ateliers, comme à Tarragone pour Maxence, Constantin fit frapper en plus grand nombre les monnaies d'un empereur allié.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE.

Avec l'exergue unique $\frac{1}{\text{P L N}}$

Cette partie de l'émission est caractérisée par les monnaies de Constantin Auguste et par les poids réduits de ses folles oscillant entre 7 et 5 grammes 30 centigrammes. Elle fut frappée dans le courant de 307, en effet une émission correspondante de Rome, où apparaissent également pour la première fois les monnaies de Constantin Auguste, est antérieure à la prise du consulat en commun par Maxence et Romulus, en Avril 308.⁷ Or si Maxence faisait frapper en 307 les monnaies de Constantin avec le titre d'Auguste à Rome, c'est que ce dernier avait pris ce titre dans les propres états, et dès lors le témoignage du panégyrique d'Eumène VI (Maximiano et Constantino), prononcé à Trèves le 31 Mars 307, à l'occasion du mariage de Constantin et de Fausta, se trouve confirmé. Ce panégyrique officiel dit que Constantin ajouta alors à son titre de César ceux d'Empereur et d'Auguste.⁸ C'est donc au 31 Mars 307 que nous placerons le début de cette émission.

D'autre part elle cessa d'être frappée en Mai 309. En effet, elle ne contient pas de pièces de Maximin Daja—Auguste. Et c'est au début de 309 que Maximin Daja prit de lui-même ce titre; c'est en Mai 309 que Galère, chef de la tétrarchie impériale, le lui reconnut,⁹ ainsi qu'à

⁷ Jules Maurice, *L'atelier monétaire de Rome pendant la période Constantinienne*. *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, pp. 343-344.

⁸ Eumène, *Panégyrique* vi., c. 1; Constantin est appelé (*Oriens imperator*). Il est dit (*tibi Cæsari additum nomen imperii*). Maximin Hercule et Constantin sont appelés tous deux (*Imperatores Augusti*).

⁹ Jules Maurice, *Émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Antioche*. *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 218.

Constantin. A partir de cette époque, comme on le verra plus loin, Constantin fit frapper les monnaies de Licinius et de Maximin Augustes.¹⁰

L'on trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—GENIO POP. ROM. Avec le génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 199; BR. MVS.; 26 m.m. Musée de Turin.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Même buste; variété inédite; BR. MVS.

3. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 138 de Maximien Hercule. FR. 8099.

II. Même légende du revers et même type, mais avec le génie coiffé du modius.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 204; FR. 9-095; 6 gr. 92; 26 m.m.

2. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 143 de Maximien Hercule; ¹¹ BR. MVS.; 7 gr. 38; 25 à 28 m.m.

¹⁰ Il est à remarquer que l'atelier de Londres ne frappa pendant la période Constantinienne aucune pièce de Maxence, dont Constantin faisait pourtant émettre de très nombreuses monnaies à Tarragone. Cela prouve que les divers ateliers d'un même empereur étaient chargés parfois de frappes spéciales, et avaient des attributions particulières.

¹¹ Les deux pièces qui portent la légende *Imp. Maximianus P.F. Aug.* doivent être placées dans cette partie de l'émission à cause de leurs poids et par suite sont attribuables à Maximien Hercule. Hercule avait en effet repris le titre d'Auguste en venant secourir son fils Maxence contre Sévère, qui avait envahi l'Italie par ordre de Galère en Février 307. Cf. Lactantius, *de Mort. Pers.*, c. xxvi. Constantin de son côté

III. *Au revers*.—MARTI PATRI PROPVG. Mars nu, le manteau flottant, marchant à droite en posture de combattant, tenant une haste transversale et un bouclier.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 363; BR. MVS.; FR. 9129; 6 gr. 29; 25 m.m.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Même buste (ces bustes diffèrent de ceux de Cohen, en ce qu'ils ne sont pas drapés). Cohen, 364; BR. MVS.; FR. 9130; 5 gr. 31; 26 m.m.¹²

IV. *Au revers*.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantin en habit militaire debout de face, regardant à gauche, et tenant deux enseignes militaires surmontées de drapeaux.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 444; BR. MVS.; 26 m.m.

DEUXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la reconnaissance de Maximin Daja et de Constantin comme Augustes par Galère en Mai 309 jusqu'à la mort de Maximin Daja en Juin 313.¹³

Les noms de Licinius et de Maximin Augustes apparaissent dans cette émission sur des pièces identiques quant au reste, qui ne se distinguent que par les noms et les effigies des empereurs et qu'il y a tout lieu de considérer

frappa dans l'atelier de Tarragone des monnaies à l'effigie de Maxence Auguste et en 307 conclut une sorte d'alliance avec cet empereur révolté contre Galère dont il ne dut plus émettre les monnaies. Les monnaies de Galère avaient été frappées à Londres en 305.

¹² De Salis, *loc. cit.*, *Num. Chron.*, 1867, pl. iii., No. 9.

¹³ C'est au 30 Avril 313 que Maximin est battu par Licinius à Tzirallum en Thrace. Il se rend ensuite à Tarse au sud du Taurus et fait de nouveaux préparatifs de guerre jusqu'à sa mort en Juin. Cf. Lactantius, c. 45.; Zosime, ii., 17. *Chronicon Paschale*.

comme ayant été frappées en même temps. Cependant Licinius fut reconnu Auguste par Galère le 11 Novembre 308 à la conférence de Carnuntum,¹⁴ où se réunirent les empereurs Dioclétien, Maximien¹ Hercule, et Galère ; tandis que Maximin Daja ne le fut qu'en Mai 309, après avoir usurpé ce titre d'Auguste.

Constantin pourtant ne semble avoir frappé leurs pièces à Londres qu'en même temps ; et une émission de Tarragone où les monnaies semblables de Licinius et de Maximin sont plus nombreuses que celles frappées à Londres confirme cette manière de voir.

Il en résulte que Constantin ne fit frapper les pièces de Licinius Auguste qu'après avoir été reconnu lui-même comme tel ainsi que Maximin Daja au printemps de 309, que par suite il ne reconnut ni les décisions des empereurs réunis à Carnuntum, ni l'autorité de Galère jusqu'à cette époque. Les folles de cette émission ont des poids oscillant entre 4 grammes 90 centigrammes et 3 grammes 70 c. ; des diamètres de 22 à 23 millimètres. L'émission comprend deux séries contemporaines.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Signe et lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{| *}{P L N}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GENIO POP. ROM. Génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIUS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 53 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14124 ; 4 gr. 70 ; 22 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 4.]

¹⁴ *Idat. Fast.* : Decies et Maximiano Hercule et Galerio vii., Conss.

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche. BR. MVS. Pièce inédite.
3. IMP. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 69; BR. MVS.; FR. 14037-38; 22 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 5.]
4. IMP. MAXIMINVS P. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, 72; BR. MVS.; FR. 14034; 4 gr. 0.60; 22 m.m.
5. Des monnaies analogues de Constantin Auguste doivent avoir été frappées.

II. *Au revers*.—La même légende et le même type, mais avec le génie coiffé du modius.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 44. Musée de Turin.

III. *Au revers*.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantin lauré, en habit militaire et le manteau tombant, debout à gauche, tenant un globe et une haste renversée.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 427; H. MVS. V.

2. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, 428; H. MVS. V.
3. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 429; BR. MVS; 24 m.m.; 4 gr. 47; FR. 14776; 4 gr. 40; 22 m.m.
4. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.
5. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 431; FR. 14775; 4 gr. 70; 22 m.m.
6. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste dirigée en avant et un bouclier. Cohen, 436; BR. MVS: 4 gr. 35; 23 m.m.

7. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, 433 ; FR. 14777.

IV. *Au revers.*—Même légende, avec Constantin en habit militaire et le manteau tombant, debout à gauche, tenant deux enseignes militaires, surmontés de drapeaux.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste cuirassé à gauche, avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 22 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 449 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14782 ; 4 gr. 15 ; 22 m.m.

3. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste dirigée en avant et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m.

V. *Au revers.*—COMITI AVGG. NN. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu et le manteau flottant, debout de face, regardant à gauche, tenant un globe dans la main droite et un fouet de la gauche.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche, tenant une haste dirigée en avant et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 40 ; FR. 14494 ; 4 gr. 67 ; 23 m.m.

2. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 41 ; FR. 14495 à 14497 ; 4 gr. 20 ; 23 m.m.

3. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant une victoire sur un globe. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. [Pl. IV., No. 6.]

4. Même légende. Son buste casqué, drapé et cuirassé à gauche, tenant un globe, surmonté d'une victoire, qui le couronne. Cohen, No. 42 ; BR. MVS.

5. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 43 ; H. MVS. V. ; 25·920.

6. CONSTANTINVS P. AG. (*sic*). Son buste diadémé et cuirassé à gauche, ayant la tête de Méduse sur la poitrine et tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Cohen, No. 44; FR. 14499; 3 gr. 85; 23 m.m.
7. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, Nos. 45 et 46; BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.; FR. 14498—14502; Musée Brera, Milan.
8. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 48; BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.
9. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 23 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 7.]
10. CONSTANTINVS AG. (*sic*). Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 50; BR. MVS.

VI. *Au revers*.—COMITI AAVVGG. Même type. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant un globe et un fouet.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 3; FR. 14094.A.

2. IMP. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, No. 5; BR. MVS.

3. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Buste analogue. Cohen, No. 55; BR. MVS.

VII. *Au revers*.—CONCORD. MILIT. La Concorde drapée, debout à gauche, tenant deux enseignes militaires.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 56; BR. MVS.; 22 m.m.; FR. 14504, 14505.

2. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche, avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. H. MVS. V., 25·927.

3. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste cuirassé à gauche, avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 57 ; FR. 14503.
4. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 60 ; FR. 14506 ; 4 gr. 90.
5. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec un casque à cimier lauré et très orné, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 61 ; BR. MVS. ; H. MVS. V. [Pl. IV., No. 8.]
6. CONSTANTINVS P. AG. (*sic*). Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.

VIII. *Au revers*.—CONCORDIA MILITVM. La Concorde drapée debout à gauche, tenant deux enseignes militaires.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 69 ; FR.

IX. *Au revers*.—SPES REIPVBL. Constantin à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une haste ; devant lui un captif assis, que le cheval foule au pied.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 553 ; BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m.

X. *Au revers*.—SPES REIPVBLICAE. Constantin à cheval à gauche, tenant une haste et levant la main droite ; même captif devant lui.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 555 ; FR. 15023 ; 4 gr. 15 ; 22 m.m.

XI. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 525 ; FR. 14893 ; 4 gr. 62 ; 22 m.m.

Les pièces suivantes ont du être frappées dans les années 312 et 313.

Le No. 397 de Constantin le Grand dans Cohen, repris de Mionnet, et ainsi décrit :—

XII. *Au revers.*—P.M. TR. P. COS. II. P.P. Femme assise sur une double corne d'abondance, tenant un bâton de la main droite ; dans le champ, un astre ; à l'exergue, PLN.

Au droit.—

Ce petit bronze est daté de l'année 312, par le consulat de Constantin ; l'étoile dans le champ et l'exergue indiquent qu'elle fait partie de l'émission présente.

Les pièces qui suivent, portant la légende *Adventus Aug.*, doivent se rapporter à la première entrée ou *Adventus Divi*¹⁵ de Constantin à Rome le 28 Octobre 312. Leur présence dans cette émission confirme leur attribution à l'époque de l'entrée de Constantin à Rome.

XIII. *Au revers.*—ADVENTVS AVG. Constantin à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une haste ; devant lui un captif assis à terre, que le cheval foule au pied.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste vu de dos, casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 1 ; FR. 14454 ; 4 gr. 38 ; BR. MVS.

2. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 2 ; FR. 14453 ; 4 gr. 20 ; 24 m.m. BR. MVS. Variété, même buste sans la couronne de laurier au casque ; BR. MVS.

¹⁵ Indiqué dans le *Calendrier de Philocalus*, C.I.L., I., p. 397.

3. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 22 m.m. ; 4 gr. 60. [Pl. IV., No. 9.]

4. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 3 ; FR. 14455, 14456 ; 22 m.m. ; BR. MVS.

XIV. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS AVG. N. Constantin à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une haste ; devant lui un captif assis à terre, que le cheval foule au pied.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 6 ; FR. ; H. MVS. V., 25·893.

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 7 ; BR. MVS.

3. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 8 ; BR. MVS.

XV. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS AVGG. NN. Même type.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste casqué, avec le casque radié et cuirassé, à gauche, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 22 m.m.¹⁶

Cette pièce de Londres est inédite dans la série des monnaies de Constantin le Grand. Une pièce d'or de *Siscia* attribuable à une émission contemporaine et frappée à l'effigie de Licinius I (Cohen, 143) porte comme légende du revers : *Profectio Augg.* Ces deux légendes peuvent avoir été frappées à l'occasion de la rencontre des deux empereurs à Milan en février 313 (conférence de Milan et mariage de Licinius et de Constantia).

¹⁶ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, a également indiqué la légende du revers ADVENTVS AVG. NN. (*sic*) qui est une variante de celle-ci.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Signe et lettres dans le champ et exergue : $\frac{* |}{\text{PLN}}$

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—GENIO POP. ROM. Génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 53 ; BR. MVS. ; 22 m.m.

2 et 3.—Des pièces analogues de Maximin et de Constantin Augustes peuvent se placer ici, comme dans la première série. Ces deux séries sont en effet contemporaines, ainsi que le prouvent les poids semblables de leurs folles et l'analogie de leurs légendes et de leurs types de revers.

- II. *Au revers*.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantin lauré, debout à droite, en habit militaire et le manteau tombant, tenant une haste transversale et un globe.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite ; voisine de Cohen, No. 416 ; BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 418 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14778.

- III. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS AVGG. La Sécurité, debout de face, les jambes croisées, regardant à gauche, posant la main droite sur sa tête et appuyée sur une colonne.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 491 ; H. MVS. V. ; 21 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant une haste dirigée en avant et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 492 ; BR. MVS. [Pl. IV., No. 10.]
3. IMP. LICINIUS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 154, rectifié ; au revers la Sécurité regarde à gauche. FR. 14265 ; 3 gr. 80 ; 22 m.m.

IV. *Au revers.*—FELICITAS AVGG. NN. La Félicité ou Rome, casquée, assise à gauche, tenant un rameau et un globe.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 143 ; FR. 14577.
2. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 144 ; H. MVS. V.
 3. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m.

V. *Au revers.*—MARTI CONSERVATORI. Mars en habit militaire et le manteau tombant, debout à droite, tenant une haste renversée et appuyé sur un bouclier.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche avec le casque très orné, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 22 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 11.]
2. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 338 ; H. MVS. V. ; 4 gr. 25.
 3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 341 ; H. MVS. V.

VI. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.¹⁷

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 534; BR. MVS.; 21 m.m.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 536; BR. MVS.; ou son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Turin.

VII. *Au revers*.—ROMAE RESTITVTAE. Rome casquée, assise à gauche, tenant un rameau et un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste à gauche avec le casque lauré, armé d'une haste et d'un bouclier. Cohen, No. 474; H. MVS. V. 26.255; BR. MVS. [Pl. IV., No. 12.]

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 23 m.m.

3. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 475; BR. MVS.; FR. 14858; 3 gr. 97; 22 m.m.

La légende du revers *Romae Restitutae*, commune à ces trois pièces, doit faire allusion à la prise de Rome par Constantin après la bataille du Pont Milvius le 28 Octobre 312.

Cette émission dut se terminer après la mort de Maximin Daja en Juin 313, lorsque les monnaies de cet empereur cessèrent d'être frappées. À partir de ce moment, il dut y avoir une première frappe de monnaies (de bronze) présentant la légende *Soli Invicto Comiti* et les lettres du revers et exergue $\frac{T | F}{PLN}$ et $\frac{S | F}{PLN}$ aux effigies

¹⁷ Des monnaies portant les mêmes légendes *Marti Conservatori* et *Soli Invicto Comiti*, et offrant les mêmes types du revers que ceux des pièces ci-dessus, furent frappées à Tarra-gone dans une émission contemporaine de celle-ci.

de Constantin I et de Licinius I; monnaies que j'ai placées dans les émissions de 314, 315 et 316. Mais il est impossible de l'affirmer tant que l'on n'aura pas constaté qu'il existe un assez grand nombre de pièces de Licinius I d'un poids sensiblement supérieur à celui du denier de bronze dont la frappe commence en 315.¹⁸ L'émission de ces pièces devrait en effet dans ce cas avoir eu lieu pendant la période de paix où Constantin et Licinius furent seuls empereurs avant leur première guerre, qui eut lieu en 314.

Les monnaies de Constantin que je vais décrire sont certainement d'un poids supérieur aux deniers de bronze frappés en 315. Ce sont de petits folles d'un poids analogue à ceux de la fin de l'émission précédente et qui ont dû être frappés en 314 à l'effigie de Constantin seul pendant sa guerre avec Licinius.

TROISIÈME ÉMISSION.

(Frappée en 314.)

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{T|F}{PLN}$

Les petits folles de cette émission pèsent de 4 gr. 10 à 5 gr. 30.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 534; FR. 9163; 5 gr. 20; 22 m.m.; 14922-947-948; 4 gr. 30; 22 m.m.

¹⁸ À Tarragone une émission de monnaies de cette sorte parut en effet en 313-314.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé, ou lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 536 ; BR. MVS. ; 23 m.m. ; FR. 15013 ; 4 gr. 12 ; 23 m.m. [Pl. IV., No. 13].

Constantin et Licinius sont consuls éponymes de l'année 315.¹⁹ À partir du 1^{er} Janvier 315, date de leur prise en commun du consulat par Constantin I et Licinius I et de leur rapprochement officiel après la guerre de 314 ; les pièces de ces deux Augustes sont frappées simultanément dans les ateliers d'Occident et à Rome. L'émission de monnaies de bronze qui eut lieu en 315 et en 316 présente dans la plupart des ateliers plusieurs séries contemporaines, différant les unes des autres soit par des exergues soit par des lettres ou des chiffres dans le champ du revers des monnaies.

La frappe des monnaies de Licinius ne s'interrompt plus, dans les ateliers de Constantin, à partir de l'année 315 jusqu'à la seconde guerre entre ces empereurs en 324, guerre suivie de la mort de Licinius en 325.

QUATRIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Janvier 315, date de la prise en commun du consulat par Constantin et Licinius, jusqu'au 1^{er} Mars 317, date de l'élévation des Césars.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission ont le poids moyen du denier de bronze de Constantin, 3 grammes 50 centigrammes,²⁰ dont le signe X se trouve sur les monnaies de bronze de l'émission contemporaine de

¹⁹ Cf. *Idat. Fast.* ; *Chronicon Paschale* ; *Chronographe de 354* ; *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, ix, 67 ; *Anonymus Valesii* 5, 19.

²⁰ O. Seeck, *die Münzpolitik Diocletians u.s. Nachfolger* (*Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, xvii., p. 129).

l'atelier de Rome ;²¹ leur diamètre est de 20 à 21 millimètres. C'est donc en 315 que l'espèce du denier de bronze commença à être frappée dans l'atelier de Londres comme à celui de Rome.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{T|F}{PLN}^{22}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Avec le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 521 ; BR. MVS. ; 2 gr. 98 ; 20 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 524 ; FR. 14888 ; denier, BR. MVS.

3. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 525 ; FR. 14895.

4. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 534 ; BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 0.5 ; 20 m.m.

5. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 536 ; BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 30. ; 20 m.m.

6. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 163 ; BR. MVS. ; 20 m.m.

²¹ Jules Maurice, *L'atelier monétaire de Rome* (*Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 468).

²² J'ai donné (dans les *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, pour 1900) les raisons pour lesquelles il n'était pas impossible que la lettre F fut la première lettre de l'adjectif Flavianus, et indiqua la dynastie des Flaviens, ou les princes qui ont porté le gentilice Flavius.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{SIF}{PLN}$

On trouve—

I. Avec la même légende, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, et le même type du revers.

1. Le No. 521 de Constantin le Grand dans Cohen, déjà décrit. FR. 14887 ; 3 gr. 90 ; BR. MVS. ; 2 gr. 98 ; 20 m.m.
2. *Au droit*.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche avec le casque très orné, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 523 ; FR. 14884 ; 3 gr. 70 ; BR. MVS. denier. [Pl. V., No. 1.]
3. Le No. 525 de Constantin dans Cohen, déjà décrit. FR. 14895.
4. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 530 ; FR. 14915.
5. Le No. 534 de Constantin dans Cohen, déjà décrit. FR. 14921 ; 2 gr. 55 ; 21 m.m.
6. Le No. 536 de Constantin dans Cohen, déjà décrit. BR. MVS. ; 21 m.m. ; FR. 14920 ; 3 gr. 50 ; 20 m.m.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO POP. ROM. Génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 53 ; BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 49 ; 20 m.m. ; FR. 14123, 14124.

2. Une pièce analogue de Constantin doit se placer probablement ici comme dans les autres séries contemporaines.

III. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS AVG. N.²³ Constantin à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une haste transversale.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 3 gr. 30; 21 m.m. H. MVS. V. 25·894. [Pl. V., No. 2.]

2. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 9; BR. MVS.; 3 gr. 10; 20 m.m.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.²⁴

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\begin{array}{c} S \mid F \\ \hline MLL \end{array}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constantin en habit militaire et avec le manteau tombant, tenant une haste transversale et un globe.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 21 m.m. H. MVS. V. [Pl. V., No. 3.]²⁵

II. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS AVG. N. Constantin à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant une haste.

²³ Le second *Adventus Divi* du Calendrier de Philocalus, ainsi que l'a démontré Mommsen, C.I.L., 1, p. 397, doit se rapporter au 18 Juillet, 315. La présence de la légende *Adventus Aug. N.* montre que cette émission a dû être frappée à l'occasion de cette entrée de Constantin à Rome.

²⁴ Je ne distingue les séries de cette émission que par les exergues. Avec chaque exergue particulier, PLN, MLL, MSL, et MLN, se présentent des lettres diverses dans le champ, T.F et S.F., ou S.F. et S.P. Si l'on admet, comme je l'ai supposé, que les lettres F et P sont les premières des adjectifs *Flaviana*, *Perpetua*, il en résulte que les premières lettres représentent des substantifs tels que *Tranquillitas*, *Securitas*; et il n'est pas étonnant que deux de ces formules aient été frappées dans une même série.

²⁵ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III., No. 12.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 63 ; 20 m.m.²⁶ ; déjà décrite.

III. *Au revers.*—GENIO POP. ROM. Génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 53 ; FR. 14122 ; 3 gr. 80 ; 21 m.m.

2. Une pièce de Constantin Auguste doit sans doute se placer ici.

IV. *Au revers.*—MARTI CONSERVATORI. Mars en habit militaire et avec un manteau, debout de face, regardant à gauche, tenant une haste renversée et appuyé sur un bouclier.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 352 ; BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 63.

V. *Au revers.*—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Avec le type du revers déjà décrit.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 530 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14907 ; 20 m.m.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{S | F}{MSL}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, No. 521 ; déjà décrit. FR. 14886 ; 3 gr. 32 ; 21 m.m.

²⁶ Cette pièce, comme la précédente, doit se rapporter à l'entrée de Constantin à Rome le 18 Juillet 315.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, No. 530 ; déjà décrit. BR. MVS. ; 20 m.m. ; FR. 14908 ; 3 gr. 60 ; 20 m.m.
3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AG. (*sic*). Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 3 gr. 50 ; 21 m.m.
4. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 163 ; BR. MVS. ; 21 m.m.

II. *Au revers*.—GENIO POP. ROM. Le génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 53 ; BR. MVS. ; 21 m.m.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\begin{array}{c} S | P \\ \hline M S L \end{array}$ ²⁷

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Avec le type qui vient d'être décrit.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 524 ; BR. MVS. ; 20 m.m.

²⁷ Le sens de la lettre P n'a pas été fixé définitivement, mais l'on peut supposer qu'elle est la première lettre de l'adjectif *Perpetuus*, qui se trouve dans plusieurs légendes des monnaies et médaillons de cette époque.

En groupant les deniers de bronze frappés un peu plus tard (317-324) avec la légende *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.*, j'ai observé que la lettre P, qui se trouve seule sur le devant de l'autel placé au milieu du champ de certaines de ces monnaies, est remplacée sur d'autres pièces par la lettre R, les deux formant le cycle PR, qui se lit partout *Perpetua (Vota)*. À la même place sur d'autres pièces encore se trouve la lettre C, que je ne puis expliquer à moins que ce ne soit le nom lui-même de l'empereur Constantin.

2. Même légende. Même buste à gauche. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 21 m.m. [Pl. V., No. 4.]
3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré à gauche, avec le manteau impérial. Cohen, No. 533 ; FR. 14919 ; 3 gr. 50 ; 20 m.m.
4. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 163 ; BR. MVS., le buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé. FR. 14271.

II. Même légende du revers, avec le soleil radié dans une quadrigue de face, se tournant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe, avec un fouet.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 547 ; FR. 15021 ; 2 gr. 60 ; 21 m.m.
2. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 164 ; BR. MVS. ; 20 m.m.

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\begin{array}{c} S \mid F \\ \hline M \mid N \end{array}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 524 ; FR. 14885 ; 3 gr. 50. [Pl. V., No. 5.]
2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 530 ; FR. 14908 ; 3 gr. 60 ; 21 m.m. BR. MVS.
3. IMP. LICINIVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 161 ; FR. 14266 ; 3 gr. 35 ; 21 m.m.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{S | P}{M L N}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—SOLI INVICTO COMITI., avec le type qui vient d'être décrit.

Au droit. 1.—Le No. 524 de Constantin dans Cohen. BR. MVS.

2. Le No. 530 de Constantin dans Cohen. BR. MVS.; 20 m.m.

3. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 163; FR. 14269, 14270; 3 gr. 20; 20 m.m.

II. *Au revers.*—GENIO POP. ROM. Avec le génie tourelé, à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; 21 m.m.

2. Une pièce de Licinius Auguste doit se rencontrer ici comme dans les autres séries contemporaines.

CINQUIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Mars 317, date de l'élection des Césars, Crispus, Constantin II et Licinius II;²⁸ jusqu'à l'année 320 où furent comptés leurs *Vota V*.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont des

²⁸ On a pour établir cette date de l'élection des Césars les témoignages des textes les plus autorisés sur la chronologie de cette époque.

1. *Les Fastes d'Idace*: (Gallicano et Basso. His cons. levati tres Caesares: Crispus, Licinius et Constantinus, die Kal. Mart).

2. *Le Chronicon Paschale* donne la même date et le

deniers du système de Constantin, d'un poids moyen de 3 grammes 50 centigrammes, mais présentant des variations au dessus ou au dessous de ce poids. Les diamètres de ces pièces varient entre 18 et 20 millimètres et sont légèrement inférieurs à ceux des deniers de l'émission précédente.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{S | P}{P | N}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 524; FR. 14887; BR. MVS.; 20 m.m.

même jour: cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*. M.G.H.

3. *Le Panégyrique d'Eumène* x, c. 2 (Nazarii Panegyricus Constantino dictus), qui fixe cinq ans plus tard en 321 les quinquennalia des Césars.

4. Eusèbe, *Vita Constantini* IV, 40, place l'élection de Constantin II vers la 10^{me} année du règne de Constantin I, vers 316 ou 317.

Enfin, l'abondante frappe des monnaies qui viennent d'être décrites en 315 et 316 aux noms de Constantin I et de Licinius I, seulement, confirme le dire de ces auteurs; ainsi que la légende *Adventus Aug. N.* frappée à Londres en 315 dans cette émission, où ne paraissent que les deux empereurs cités. C'est donc à tort que l'*Anonymus Valesii* 5, 19, cite l'élection des Césars avant la prise du consulat par Licinius I et Constantin I en 314; cette prise du consulat eut lieu d'ailleurs au 1^{er} Janvier, et l'élection des Césars n'eut lieu qu'en Mars d'après les meilleures sources.

2. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 136 ; FR. 15505.
3. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Même buste. Cohen, No. 137 ; FR. 15507 ; 3 gr. 95 ; 20 m.m.
4. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 183 ; FR. 15812, 15816 ; 3 gr. 35 ; 19 m.m.
5. FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 186 ; BR. MVS.

II. *Au revers*.—CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE.²⁹ Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 36 ; H. MVS. V.

2. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 37 ; H. MVS. V.

3. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 51 ; FR. 15429.

Les monnaies de Licinius I et II sont frappées dans l'émission contemporaine de l'atelier de Rome avec la légende *Iovi Conservatori*. Des pièces correspondantes doivent exister dans la frappe de Londres au moins pour Licinius I ; le jeune Licinius n'ayant peut-être pas eu de monnaies à son effigie émises à Londres.

²⁹ Cette légende *Claritas Reipublicae* apparaît dans tous les ateliers d'Occident après l'élection des Césars, Crispus, Licinius et Constantin II. Elle se rencontre généralement sur les pièces des Césars. L'atelier de Londres, au contraire, frappe indifféremment *Soli Invicto Comiti* et *Claritas Reipublicae* sur les monnaies à l'effigie de Constantin I, ou à celles des Césars.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Signe et lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{\smile}{\text{PLN}}$

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Cohen, No. 136; déjà décrit. BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 6.]

2. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Cohen, No. 137; déjà décrit. FR. 15508; 3 gr. 20; 19 m.m.

3. FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Cohen, No. 186; déjà décrit. BR. MVS.; 20 m.m.

4. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 525; BR. MVS.³⁰

Les pièces des deux Licinius manquent pour cette série.

- II. *Au revers*.—PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS. Crispus en habit militaire, debout à droite, tenant une haste renversée et appuyant sur un bouclier.

Au droit.—CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Variété de Cohen, No. 105; BR. MVS.; 19 m.m.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Signes et lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{\smile}{\text{PLN}}^*$

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Cohen, No. 186; déjà décrit; BR. MVS.; 20 m.m. [Pl. V., No. 7.]

- II. *Au revers*.—CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE. Avec le type déjà décrit.

³⁰ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV. No. 1.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, No. 37; déjà décrit; H. MVS. V.; Milan, Musée Bréra.

Les monnaies présentant la légende *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.*, qui seront décrites plus loin, ont été frappées également de 317 à 320.

SIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'année 320, pendant laquelle apparaissent les "Vota V" des Césars, contemporains des "Vota XV" de Constantin le Grand,³¹ jusqu'au 8 Novembre 324, date de l'élection de Constantius II César, dont les monnaies ne font pas encore partie de cette émission.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Monnaies frappées également de 317 à 320.

Lettres dans l'exergue $\frac{|}{PLN}$

La légende du revers *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.*, qui se présente dans cette série,³² se trouve également dans une émission contemporaine de l'atelier de Siscia, sur

³¹ Cf. J. Maurice, *loc. cit.*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 476. *Le Panégyrique d'Eumène x*, (Nazarii Panegyricus Constantino dictus) explique cette contemporanéité des *Vota*.

³² Cette légende fut frappée à Siscia avant et en même temps que les *Caesarum Nostrorum Vot. V.*, et continua à l'être en même temps que les *D. N. Constantini* ou *Licini Vot. XX* et les *Virtus Exercit.*, qui portent les *VOT. XX* sur l'étendard dans le champ des monnaies. Les séries monétaires de Tarracone où les *Vot. X* de Constantin le Grand sont inscrits sur les monnaies avec la légende *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.* font remonter en 317 le début de la frappe de cette légende. A Trèves elle parut en 323, d'après Hettner (*Römische Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinländern*), (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1887, p. 147).

des pièces qui portent le monogramme Constantinien. Aucun signe chrétien, au contraire, ne paraît avoir été frappé dans l'atelier de Londres. Les monnaies de cette émission sont de l'espèce du denier de bronze.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP., et comme type: Deux victoires debout, posant sur un autel un bouclier sur lequel celle qui est à gauche a inscrit VOT. P.R.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AG. (*sic*). Son buste cuirassé à droite avec le casque lauré. Variété de Cohen, No. 633; BR. MVS.³³

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste cuirassé à gauche, avec le casque orné d'un crinier, et tenant une haste; sans bouclier. Cohen, No. 638; BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 8.]

3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AG. (*sic*). Variété de Cohen, No. 638; BR. MVS.³⁴

4. IMP. CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste cuirassé à droite, avec le casque lauré. Cohen, No. 640; BR. MVS., denier.³⁵

Le revers de cette pièce présente une couronne sur la face antérieure de l'autel.

5. CRISPVS NOB. CAESAR. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 148; BR. MVS.

Même revers avec une couronne.

³³ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV, No. 5.

³⁴ *Idem.*, Pl. IV, No. 5.

³⁵ Le No. 635 de Constantin le Grand dans Cohen, 2^{me} édition, est indiqué par Madden (*Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 48) comme présentant une croix équilatérale sur la face antérieure de l'autel et à l'exergue PLN. Ce doit être par erreur. La collection du British Museum indiquée par Madden contient bien une telle pièce, mais avec l'exergue de Tarragone, T T. Je n'ai pas trouvé des signes chrétiens sur les monnaies frappées à Londres sous Constantin. O. Voetter n'en signale pas non plus dans: *Erste Christliche Zeichen auf römischen Münzen* (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 41).

6. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 219; BR. MVS.; 18 m.m. FR. 15821; 3 gr. 40.

Même revers.

7. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste drapé à droite, avec le casque lauré. Cohen, No. 151; FR. 15512; 3 gr. 15; 19 m.m.
8. FL. CL. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 219; FR. 15821; 3 gr. 40; 18 m.m.

Monnaies frappées seulement de 320 à 324.

II. *Au revers.*—VIRTVS EXERCIT. Un étendard, au pied duquel sont assis deux captifs; celui de droite a les mains liées derrière le dos et retourne la tête, celui de gauche est dans l'attitude de la tristesse; sur l'étendard VOT XX.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 695; BR. MVS.; 19 m.m.; FR. [Pl. V., No. 9.]³⁶

2. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 179; BR. MVS.; FR. 15530; 3 gr. 40; 19 m.m.

3. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 252; BR. MVS.

4. CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 173; FR. 15533.

L'extrémité supérieure de la hampe de l'étendard sur ces

³⁶ Avec les légendes *Victoriae Laetae*, etc., et *Virtus Exercit.* aucun signe chrétien ne paraît être sorti de l'atelier de Londres, tandis que le monogramme apparaissait sur les monnaies portant la légende *Virtus Exercit.* à Siscia, à Aquilée, à Tarragone, et à Trèves, et avec *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.* à Siscia; cf. O. Voetter, *loc. cit.*, et notamment Pl. II. No. 73 à 75, et Madden, *loc. cit.*

pièces paraît se terminer par une croix et a été considérée comme telle ;³⁷ tandis qu'il ne s'agit que d'une apparence purement fortuite. L'on peut s'en convaincre par la comparaison d'un grand nombre de pièces qui présentent plus ou moins la croix apparente ; suivant le degré d'usure du bras transversal de la croix formé par la ligne supérieure du drapeau attaché à la hampe.

III. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINI AVG. Autour de VOTIS XX en trois lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, No. 84. Milan, Musée Bréra, No. 7,348.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Frappée également de 317 à 320.

Lettres dans l'exergue $\frac{P}{L}$, avec deux captifs assis dos à dos entre les lettres P et L.

I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Deux victoires debout, posant un bouclier sur au autel ; sur le bouclier sont inscrits les VOT. P.R.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste cuirassé à droite, avec le casque surmonté d'une crinier. Cohen, No. 631 ; FR. 15072 ; BR. MVS.

2 IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 174 ; FR. 14318.

3. IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Même buste. Cohen, No. 177 ; FR. 14319.

4. D.N. CRISPO NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 155 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 15517.

³⁷ Cf. Cavedoni, *Trésor de Numismatique* ; Garrucci, *Numismatica Constantina* ; Madden, *Christian emblems on coins of Constantine I* (*Num. Chron.*, 1877, pp. 258-260).

5. D.N. CONSTANTINO IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 227 ; BR. MVS.³⁸

Une série de pièces se présente avec le même revers, mais avec les captifs seulement et *sans lettres* à l'exergue.

- Au droit.* 1.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 176 ; FR. 14316.
2. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, No. 631, déjà décrit ; BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 10.]
3. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 156 ; Musée de Turin.
4. Le No. 219 de Constantin II dans Cohen doit se placer ici.
5. D.N. CRISPO NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 155 ; BR. MVS. ; 20 m.m.³⁹
6. D.N. CONSTANTINO IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 227 ; BR. MVS. ; 19 m.m. ; FR. 15824, 15825 ; 3 gr. 40.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Frappée seulement de 320 à 324.

Lettres dans l'exergue $\frac{|}{\text{PLON}}$

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers.*—VIRTVS EXERCIT. Avec le type de revers déjà décrit.⁴⁰

Au droit. 1.—CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 173 ; FR. 15534 ; BR. MVS.

³⁸ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV, No. 7.

³⁹ *Idem.*, Pl. IV, No. 6.

⁴⁰ Je n'ai pas trouvé de pièces de Constantin I et de Licinius I avec cette légende dans cette série, mais elles doivent s'y rencontrer.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 252 ; BR. MVS.
- II. *Au revers*.—Même légende. Trophée, au pied duquel sont assis deux captifs, celui de gauche dans l'attitude de la tristesse, l'autre les mains liées derrière le dos retourne la tête.
- Au droit*.—CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 262 ; BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 11.]
- III. *Au revers*.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Un autel sur lequel repose un globe, au dessus duquel l'on voit deux ou trois étoiles ; on lit sur l'autel VOTIS XX.
- Au droit*. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré à droite, avec le manteau impérial, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Cohen, No. 17 ; BR. MVS. ; H. MVS. V.
2. Même légende ; même buste à gauche. Cohen, No. 18 ; FR. 14470 ; 3 gr. 20 ; 19 m.m.⁴¹
3. CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 12 ; FR. 15359 ; 3 gr. 20 ; 19 m.m.
4. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 13 ; FR. 15360, 15361 ; BR. MVS.
5. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié et drapé à gauche. Cohen, No. 16 ; FR. 15579 ; 3 gr. 60 ; 20 m.m.
- IV. *Au revers*.—BEAT. TRANQLITAS. (*sic*). Revers déjà décrit avec la légende *Beata Tranquillitas*. Cette légende *Beat. Tranqlitas*. est particulière à l'atelier de Londres.

⁴¹ Je n'ai pas trouvé de pièces de Licinius I avec cette légende. Quant à Licinius II, je n'ai trouvé aucune de ses monnaies frappées à Londres, et je ne puis dire si c'est à cause de la très grande rareté de ces monnaies, ou s'il a réellement pas été frappé de pièces à son effigie dans l'atelier de Londres.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche; avec le casque quelquefois très orné. Cohen, No. 26; BR. MVS.; FR. 14487.

2. Même légende; même buste à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.⁴²

3. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Cohen, No. 28; BR. MVS.⁴³

4. Même légende; même buste à droite. Cohen, No. 29; BR. MVS.; FR. 1448; 3 gr. 50; 19 m.m.

5. CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, No. 28; FR. 15377.

6. Même légende. Même buste mais lauré. Cohen, No. 27; BR. MVS.⁴⁴

7. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 29; FR. 15378.

8. Même légende. Même buste à droite. BR. MVS.⁴⁵

9. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 9; FR. 15591.

10. Même légende; même buste à gauche. Cohen, No. 10; FR. 15593.

V. *Au revers.*—SARMATIA DEVICTA. Victoire marchant à droite, tenant un trophée et une palme et mettant le pied sur un captif assis qui retourne la tête.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, No. 487, corrigé; BR. MVS.⁴⁶

⁴² De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV., No. 9.

^{43, 44, 45} *Idem.*

⁴⁶ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV., No. 10. Cette monnaie se rapporte à la victoire de Constantin sur les Sarmates en 322; cf. Porphyrii Carmina, vi., 22; Zosime (*Hist.* ii., 21) la place avant le séjour de Constantin à Thessalonique, où il prépara en 323 sa guerre contre Licinius. (*Cod. Théodos.*, iii., 23, 1.)

Lettres dans le champ et exergue $\frac{F | B}{PLON}$

Les monnaies qui suivent font partie de la même série que celles qui précèdent ; en effet, les même pièces se présentent avec et sans les lettres F B dans le champ de leurs revers.⁴⁷

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Avec le revers déjà décrit pour cette légende.

Au droit. 1.—CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche Cohen, No. 13 ; FR. 15360, 15361 ; 3 gr. 40 ; 19 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié et drapé à gauche. Cohen, No. 16 ; FR. 15580.

On trouve—

II. *Au revers*.—BEAT. TRANQLITAS (*sic*). Avec le revers déjà indiqué pour cette légende.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, No. 28 ; déjà décrit ; BR. MVS.

2. CONSTANTINVS AG. (*sic*). Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle. Cohen, No. 30 ; BR. MVS.

⁴⁷ Les lettres P et A ont été indiquées comme existant aussi dans le champ du revers de ces pièces. (Cf. Hettner, *Röm. Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinl., Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1888, p. 122.) Quant aux signes chrétiens que les anciens auteurs ont vus (cf. Garrucci, *loc. cit.*) sur les monnaies, qui portent cette légende du revers, ce sont les diagonales qui forment un dessin ressemblant à un croix sur le devant de l'autel, sur lequel les victoires déposent leur bouclier, qui y ont donné lieu, ainsi que les méridiens qui divisent le globe posé sur l'autel.

3. CRISPVS NOBIL. C. Cohen, No. 28 ; déjà décrit ; BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 12.]
4. Même légende. Cohen, No. 29 ; déjà décrit ; FR. 15379.
5. CONSTANTINVS IVN. N.C. Son buste radié et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, No. 8 ; BR. MVS. [Pl. V., No. 13.]

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.

Je n'ai trouvé que deux pièces présentant l'exergue suivant.

|
— PLON —

On trouve—

Au revers.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM autour d'une couronne de laurier, dans laquelle on lit VOT. X.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, No. 44 ; FR. 15417 ; 2 gr. 80 ; 19 m.m. [Pl. V., No. 14.]

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, No. 38 ; BR. MVS.⁴⁸

SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élection de Constance II César le 8 Novembre 324,⁴⁹ jusqu'au séjour de Constantin à Rome de Juillet à Septembre 326.⁵⁰

Cette émission contient en effet des monnaies de Crispus et de Fausta qui ont été frappées jusqu'à cette époque,

⁴⁸ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV., No. 11. Le VOT. X. des Césars se trouve dans l'émission de Rome frappée en 320-324. (Jules Maurice, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 476.)

⁴⁹ *Idat. Fast.* ; *Chron. Pasch.* ; cf. J. Maurice, *L'atelier monétaire de Rome* (*Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 486).

⁵⁰ Troisième *Adventus Divi* au 21 Juillet, C.I.L., I, p. 397.

d'après les indications fournies par les frappes de l'atelier d'Antioche.⁵¹ Les pièces de bronze de cette émission sont uniquement du type du denier de Constantin.

Lettres dans l'exergue $\frac{1}{\text{PLON}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Porte de camp ouverte au milieu, surmontée de deux tours ; au dessus une étoile.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, No. 454 ; BR. MVS ; FR. 14802.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, No. 124 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 15483.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 164 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 15769 ; 3 gr. 30 ; 19 m.m.

3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, No. 168 ; BR. MVS.

4. FLA. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.⁵²

III. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. La Sécurité voilée, debout à gauche, tenant un rameau baissé et soutenant sa robe.

⁵¹ J. Maurice, *Émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Antioche* (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 237).

⁵² De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV., No. 12.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Son buste drapé à droite, avec un diadème orné de perles et un collier formé de deux rangs de perles. Cohen, No. 12; BR. MVS. 20 m.m. [Pl. V., No. 15.]

IV. *Au revers.*—SALVS REIPVBLICAE. Fausta voilée, debout à gauche, tenant Constantin II et Constance II, enfants, dans ses bras.

Au droit.—FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA. AG. (*sic*). Son buste coiffé en cheveux à droite et drapé. Cohen, Nos. 6 et 7; BR. MVS.; 26 m.m.⁵³

L'atelier de Londres ferme en 326, à l'époque de la mort de Crispus et de Fausta, dont les pièces font partie de sa dernière émission. La légende *Providentiae Caess.* se présente sur les monnaies de Crispus en même temps que sur celles de Constance II. Cet atelier ne se rouvre plus sous le règne de Constantin le Grand.⁵⁴

JULES MAURICE.

⁵³ De Salis, *loc. cit.*, Pl. IV, No. 13.

⁵⁴ Je n'ai pas trouvé de monnaies d'or frappées à Londres pendant la période Constantinienne. J'ai démontré dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche (*Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 237), que les dernières émissions qui contiennent les pièces de Crispus et de Fausta ne cessèrent d'être frappées qu'en Août ou Septembre, 326.

VII.

ON SOME UNIQUE ANGLO-SAXON COINS.

It was for many years a disputed point among numismatists whether the very rare coins of Ecgberht with the **Æ** reverse type should be given to the king of that name in Kent (765—*c.* 779), or to the son of Offa who reigned in Mercia for six months after his father's decease.¹ It was objected, however, and rightly so, that the latter was probably called Ecgferth and not Ecgberht; and there has been for some time a consensus of opinion that the coins in question² were attributable correctly to Ecgberht of Kent,³ Hawkins and the Museum authorities having concurred in this arrangement. In Hawkins⁴ we read: “. . . but as the two moneyers Udd and Babba both appear on the coins of Offa, and this monogram, and types very similar to these, also appear on his coins (cf. Ruding V, 25, 31, 32, &c.), there can be little doubt that this King Ecgberht had some close connection with Offa.

¹ Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd Edition, p. 31.

² I only know of four coins of this king, one in the British Museum (Udd moneyer), one in the Hunter collection (Babba), and two that were Mr. Montagu's (Udd and Babba). I believe there is one in the Paris collection.

³ He should be properly described as Ecgberht II, to distinguish him from his predecessor (664—673). He is so described by Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, p. 266.

⁴ *Silver Coins of England*, 3rd Edition, p. 32.

Now, Babba struck coins in Kent for Eadbearht Præn, 794 to 798, and Duda, very likely the same person as Udd, for Cuthred 798 to 805: and from about the year 774 when Offa defeated the men of Kent at Otford, to 823 when Egberht of Wessex subdued them, Kent was almost entirely under the control of the kings of Mercia. These coins, therefore, struck by the Kentish moneyers Udd and Babba, no doubt bear the name of the Kentish King Egberht, who, after the battle of Otford, was probably, like his successors Cuthred and Baldred, king only in name; and most likely the coins struck by Udd and Babba for Offa were struck in Kent, as were several coins of Offa's successors, Coenwlf and Ceolwlf. It may be worth while to notice that Uda is one of the witnesses to the charter of Egberht before mentioned."



There were therefore strong grounds for giving these pennies to Egberht of Kent, and I think the present coin, figured above, not only places that attribution beyond cavil, but at the same time it enables me to fill another numismatic gap in the series of Kent, as I can confidently ascribe it to a King Heahberht who reigned jointly with this King Egberht in Kent. It also adds another unique coin to our national series. These two types therefore stand first at the head of the Kentish series, the wolf and twin type of Ethelbert having been more correctly removed to the king of that name in East Anglia.

This coin, of which an illustration is given above, may be read—

Obv.—✠ HEABERHT between two dotted lines; in centre **R̅x**.

Rev.—**E**Θ**B**A between limbs of cross, each limb ending in an annulet, containing a pellet; the cross voided in centre and containing a pellet; a pellet also in centre of the letter O.⁵

It has unfortunately been slightly broken on one side, and for this reason only weighs 11 grains, being therefore, in comparison with Ecgberht's pennies (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i, Kent 1), light even allowing for the break, without which it would probably have weighed about 15 grains. The coin of Ecgberht in the National Collection weighs 17·3 grains. These coins seem heavier than most of the sceattas which they must have followed at no great interval, and in this respect they may be compared with the half sceatta, halfpenny, or transition coins of Beonna of East Anglia, which weigh about 16·3 grains, whilst the contemporary *novi denarii* of Pepin on the Continent are slightly heavier (752—768). I believe that there was a tendency on both sides of the water at this period to increase the weight of the coin and its size; and if Sigered's coins should ever turn up, we may expect them to be more like sceattas and still lighter in weight. As to the source whence the **R̅x** on the reverse is descended, it may be noticed that this monogram denoting REX is fairly common on the pennies of Pepin,⁶ and may be the origin of it. In connection with these early pennies, the coins

⁵ Eoba always placed a dot, characteristic of his work, in the O on Offa's and Cynethryth's pennies. The last coins with this moneyer's name in Coenwulf's time are probably struck by another moneyer of the same name, as the dot is omitted.

⁶ Engel and Serrure, *Num. du Moyen-Age*, vol. i., pp. 199, 200.

of Beonna and Æthelberht of East Anglia are interesting. The coins of the former have in my opinion very rightly been given to the second king of that name (*circa* 760); the earlier attribution of Hawkins (p. 55) not being admissible, whilst the unique coin of the latter, which is in the British Museum, after being suspected for many years has, I think, rehabilitated its character.⁷ Surely the counterfeiter or supposed fabricator would never have thought of placing a compartment derived from an ancient Roman type on the coin at a time when, numismatically speaking, hardly any early pennies can be attributed to East Anglia, whilst it is precisely for that reason that it has been given to that state. I believe this compartment type, of which we see the last remains on Beonna's and Æthelberht's coins, to have been peculiar to the north of the Thames or Anglian side of the country, whilst the southern or Kentish types of the penny may have been derived from the Continental *novi denarii*, after the older mute and highly ornamented types of sceattas had become obsolete. Perhaps this was due to the position of Kent, being adjacent to the Continent, with which it was more likely than the northern states to have had some commercial intercourse. Heahberht, like Ecgberht, seems to have been a sub-regulus or tributary prince of Offa, King of the Mercians, who subdued the men of Kent at Ottford about 774, just about the time when Heahberht succeeded to the throne. No mention of the latter occurs in any chronicles, nor is his parentage known, our knowledge of him being confined to three charters in which his name appears as a signatory—*e.g.*, first, a charter of Offa in 764 relating to land at Æslingaham or Frindsbury on the Medway. This

⁷ Bought by the British Museum in 1803 for £1 8s.

grant commences: "Ego Offa, Rex Merciorum, regali prosapia Merciorum oriundus . . . Et hoc cum consensu et licentia archiepiscopi nostri Bregouuini atque Heaberhti regis Cantiaë, et principum nostrorum. . . . Ego Heaberhtus rex consensi et subscripsi."⁸

Secondly, a grant by Ecgberht to Eardulf, Bishop of Rochester (A.D. 765), of land within the castle walls of Rochester, which is confirmed by Heahberht. "Ego Heaberhtus rex Cant. testis consensi et subscripsi,"⁹ which is also confirmed by Offa of Mercia. In this charter Heahberht appears to be subordinate to Ecgberht, but there seems to be no evidence as to whether one king had East Kent and the other West Kent, though doubtless this was the case, as Sigered (760) is described in an earlier charter as "rex dimidiaë partis provinciae Cantuariorum" (Birch, No. 194).

Lastly, there is a grant by Ecgberht to Diora, Bishop of Rochester, of land at Halling on the Medway (765—791). Here Ecgberht signs first and uses the expression "roboravi," whilst Heahberht has "subscripsi" in a similar fashion to the Archbishop (Jaenberht) who follows him.¹⁰

It may be noted that this penny offers a unique instance of two kings of a heptarchic state striking coins of the same type at the same period. Kent was more conservative than the other states, owing to the retention there of a double kingdom; or possibly there may have been some sort of dual control, an ancient system and a survival of one under which many petty kings lived in close juxtaposi-

⁸ Text. Roff., folio 123; *Cart. Sax.* (Birch), vol. i., No. 195.

⁹ Text. Roff., folio 126; *Cart. Sax.* (Birch), vol. i., No. 196.

¹⁰ Text. Roff., folio 127; *Cart. Sax.* (Birch), vol. i., No. 260. Mr. Birch has assured me that these charters are genuine.

tion, of whom many have escaped being chronicled. Thorpe speaks of the septs or clans who from the earliest time had their leaders, whose powers were to merge finally into the regal power, subject only to the all-powerful Bretwalda. On this point Kemble says¹¹: "We are tolerably familiar with the fact that at least eight kingdoms existed at once in Saxon England; but many readers of English history have yet to learn that royalty was much more widely spread, even at the time when we hear of but eight, seven, or six predominant kings: as this is a point of some interest, a few examples may not be amiss. It is probable that from the very earliest times Kent had at least two kings, whose capitals were respectively Canterbury and Rochester, the seat of two bishoprics.¹² The distinction of East and West Kentings is preserved till the very downfall of the Saxon monarchy: ¹³ not only do we know that Eadric and Hlothhere reigned together, but also that Wihtred and his son Æthelberht the Second did so. . . . The later years of Æthelberht the Second must have seen his power shared with Eadberht, Eardhulf, Sigiræd, and Ecgberht, and Sigiræd deliberately calls himself king of half Kent."

Coins bearing a double royal name in Anglo-Saxon times have, I believe, not hitherto been met with, though there are well-known examples of the joint issue of king and archbishop. The following coin, bearing the names

¹¹ *Saxons in England*, vol. i., p. 148.

¹² It has been said by an eminent authority that the physical boundaries of the episcopal sees in England would often be continuous with the more ancient and less known petty kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

¹³ Palgrave says, "Probably one was king of West Kent and the other of East Kent" (*English Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. cclxix.).

of Berhtwulf of Mercia and Æthelwulf of Wessex, is specially interesting from a numismatic as well as from an historical point of view. This coin, of which an illustration is given, may be read



Obv.—BERHTWULF REX. Bust to r., diademed.

Rev.—IPEDELWULF RE+. Cross pattée over cross pattée.

The obverse of this coin is almost, if not exactly, the type of No. 119, *B. M. Catalogue*, in the Berhtwulf series, whilst on the reverse the above remarkable legend appears, with the cross over a cross, a type which had already appeared on the coins of Ecgbeorht of Wessex,¹⁴ and was continued also on Æthelwulf's.¹⁵ It may be noticed that the style of lettering here is not of the usual kind, sharp, thin at the surface, broad at the base, but it is rounded and of nearly the same thickness all through, in which particulars it resembles the work of Mercia rather than that of Kent or Wessex. A great resemblance may be traced to the style of Dun,¹⁶ a moneyer who was also under the Mercian Kings, Ceolwulf I and Coenwulf. On the coins of the latter the cross preceding the king's name is somewhat peculiar, the horizontal stroke of this emblem being

¹⁴ Cfr. *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Ecgbeorht, Type viii.

¹⁵ Cfr. *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. III. 3, 9, and the obverse of 11.

¹⁶ Cfr. *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., Pl. III. 11. The name of Dun also occurs afterwards as a York moneyer of Eadgar, and also of Eadweard II, and therefore it seems to have belonged to an Angle district, not to a Saxon one.

very thick and altogether disproportionate to the side strokes. This may be taken as a guide to the peculiar character on the reverse of my coin, which would appear to be a degraded cross of this class, the side arms having disappeared by corruption of type. The stroke therefore at the beginning of the reverse legend is probably the usual familiar cross, and not a part of the name, or, as it is not unfrequent in Saxon coins, an abbreviation of some kind.

With regard to the letters on the reverse, it may be noticed that the number of these which are runes is unusually great at this period, pointing to an Anglian (*i.e.*, Mercian) origin, not Saxon (*i.e.*, Kentish),¹⁷ as there are at least four if not five of these instead of the usual Roman letters—namely, the *th*, an *e*, two *l*'s, both the latter upside down, and a peculiar-looking character between the two last letters, which may be similar to that found on Cynwulf's¹⁸ coins of Eanred and Eanbald II, in which case it would probably be the vowel sound *A* or *Y*.¹⁹ But I think that this letter is more likely to be a Roman one, and that it represents the double *V* common on Anglo-Saxon pennies, which seems to have replaced the older *Wen* or Runic form when followed by *V*. Curiously enough, on Dun's coins²⁰ we get the form *Y* (sometimes in the moneyer's name as well as the king's), which letter connects the characters somewhat closely. This

¹⁷ On Anglo-Saxon pennies we seldom get runes or runic survivals, unless they were struck north of the Thames—*i.e.*, in an Anglian district. This rule, I believe, may be found a safe guide in appropriating some of the later *sceattas*.

¹⁸ *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., pp. 146, 147, 190, 191.

¹⁹ See Stephens, *Runic Monuments*. This form hardly appears on the Anglian monuments. According to this author, it should always represent a vowel sound.

²⁰ *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., p. 20; and also *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, xiv., Pl. IV. 6.

same form on Dun's coins appears also on a coin²¹ of Beagmund, who has been inferred to be a Mercian moneyer from the double M obverse type, struck during Ecgbearht's reign.²² It is somewhat unfortunate that in my coin the title REX on the obverse should not be as clear as it might be, owing to bad condition; but enough remains, I think, of the R to show the engraver's intention; the space also could hardly enclose other letters than EX.

It is presumable that the concurrence of Berhtwulf's and Æthelwulf's names on this coin is due to the former king being, at least in some degree, in a state of some dependence on the latter; but was he in such a position that we may infer the latter to have been his overlord in the same degree that Ecgbearht was to Wiglaf, and that he himself was at a later date to his son-in-law Burgred? Wiglaf, Berhtwulf's predecessor, was subject to Wessex, having been deposed (828) and subsequently restored by Ecgbearht; and it was by the successful operations of the latter at Hengestduna, that Berhtwulf afterwards was in a position to occupy the throne of Mercia in some condition of security from the ever-increasing ravages of the Danes. Wiglaf having in that year (828) sworn fealty and paid tribute to Ecgbearht, the latter, according to Mr. Grueber,²³ probably struck coins as King of Mercia for some period, Wiglaf not striking again. But of Æthelwulf he says: ²⁴ "Of a gentle nature, and more disposed to spend a quiet life than to rule over wide dominions, and also having to turn his attentions to securing the safety

²¹ *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii., p. 4. Perhaps all Dun's coins were struck in Mercia.

²² *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, xiv., p. 61.

²³ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, xiv., p. 65.

²⁴ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, xiv., p. 72.

of his own kingdom against the attacks of the Vikings, Æthelwulf relaxed his rule over Mercia. One of the results of which was that we find in a short time Wiglaf's successor Berhtwulf resuming the monetary rights of his predecessor." Thorpe²⁵ has assumed the suzerainty of Wessex over Mercia at this period; he says: "Immediately following these events a fleet of Northmen, consisting of no less than three hundred sail, arrived at the mouth of the Thames, whence they penetrated to Canterbury and even to London (then chief city of Mercia), both of which they took and plundered, having put to flight the army of Berhtwulf, the tributary king of the Mercians." But there appears to be no mention of tributary king in any of the authorities he quotes, or in any other place, including the various charters; and Palgrave,²⁶ who made a schedule of the various states of the Heptarchy, expressly omits any overlord of Mercia during Berhtwulf's reign.

In the absence of evidence of this dependence of Mercia on Wessex, can we regard the former state as having been then subject to the latter in any greater degree than might be supposed would have followed as a natural sequence from Ecgbearht's prestige in former years? May not her position have somewhat resembled that of North-Humbria, during the reign of Ecgbearht, which was mediatised, if we may use a modern term of diplomacy in so rude an age, by him when that state submitted to him at Dore? As, therefore, it would appear that Berhtwulf was unhampered by Æthelwulf in his regal

²⁵ Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii., p. 21.

²⁶ *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Proofs and Illustrations*, p. cclxxxi.

prerogative to issue coins for Mercia, we may ask the question, For what place was this penny with a double legend issued?, unless we come to the prosaic conclusion that the coin is a "mule" with two obverses. This in my opinion would be an unsatisfactory view, as it does not account for the general appearance of the coin and for the strange legend on the side bearing the name of Æthelwulf, which is wholly dissimilar to any others of his. Whether Berhtwulf struck coins in other places than Mercia it is difficult to say—some coins certainly bear the East Anglian A on the reverse;²⁷ but his sovereignty there must have been of an empty nature, and resembled ours in later times over France, when we still kept up the title of king of that country after our possessions there had long vanished. London, perhaps including Middlesex, may have been a bone of contention from a mintage point of view between the two kings, and they may have agreed to share the latter between them and have struck this coin jointly in that city. We learn that London, formerly capital of Essex, was incorporated with the latter into Mercia about the middle of the seventh century, and that when Essex submitted to Ecgbearht (823) this town continued to belong to Mercia, for which reason we find Berhtwulf defending it unsuccessfully against the Danes, after whose ravages it was not rebuilt till the reign of Alfred the Great. If the kings of Wessex after Ecgbearht had continued to mint for Mercia, we might expect some evidence of that fact on coins, but such is not the case, as far as we know, and Berhtwulf's position of responsibility for London might, on *prima-facie* grounds,

²⁷ *Vide* Hawkins, p. 62, where Burgred also has this letter on one of Dudecil's coins.

be deemed sufficient evidence of his minting at that city, whilst it would not be likely that the King of Wessex would give up altogether a privilege acquired by his illustrious predecessor. Hence, on these grounds, a joint issue by the two kings is not unlikely.

The next coin which I would notice is a penny of Ecgbeorht of Wessex, with the title of King of the Mercians, "Rex Merciorum." Though unfortunately a fragment only, it is unique and highly interesting. It was found at Rochester, and acquired by Mr. Humphry Wickham, of Strood, in Kent, and is now in my collection. The following is an illustration and description of it.



Obv.—✠ E . . . RHT REX ƿ. Cross potent within circle.

Rev.—✠ R . . . VDF MONE. Degraded monogram of SAX within circle.

An account of this coin was published in *Num. Chron.* N. S. iii., p. 46, with an incorrect engraving of it, the latter having unfortunately been copied in the *B. M. Catalogue* (vol. ii. p. 5), where it is the authority for type xix. In these examples the D is engraved as if it were a U, whereas it is clearly the former letter; the moneyer is also clearly Redmund, though Mr. Whitbourn was unable to read it. Here then we get Redmund, Wiglaf's moneyer, coining for Ecgbeorht on another type, and with the Rex M(erciorum) on the obverse, forming the fourth type minted by the Wessex king in that state, the contention which was

happily suggested by Mr. Grueber that he seized that mint, being, I think, unassailable. Why Redmund turned the uncial N²⁸ upside down, and transposed that letter and the D, it is hard to say, but these peculiarities enable one to identify his workmanship at once. It seems evident that the monogram in the field of the reverse is a degraded copy of the SAXO type; which, from its having been Æthelwulf's as well as Ecgbeorht's, one would apprehend to have been last, or very late, in the series of the latter king. If we regard this coin as struck, *ex hypothesi*, about 827, there is a gap of eleven years before Æthelwulf used this monogram, certainly a long period for its revival at this time, when monetary changes of type succeeded each other so rapidly.

In the following piece we have a new variety of Æthelwulf's coinage.



Obv.—E VLF RE. Bust r., diademed.

Rev.—✠ . . . ṼVND ṼON. Straight line, the ends degraded from the moline form to lozenge-shaped dots, between two crescents.

This is evidently the moneyer Beagmund, being completely in his style, and the reverse is a degraded form of *N.C.* Ser. III, xiv, Pl. IV, 13, which it resembles in other respects, the type of obverse being also similar.

²⁸ Cfr. the N of similar shape on Twicga's pennies of Eadmund of East Anglia (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i., p. 93, Nos. 82 to 86).

The last piece that I would bring to the notice of the Society is another coin of Ecgbeorht of Wessex. It is a new combination of Sir John Evans' coin (Type XVI, *B. M. Catalogue* for reverse, and Type XV for obverse). The moneyer is Swefherd.



Obv.—✠HECB EX. Cross pattée.

Rev.—. . EFHER . . Cross of five limbs pattés ; around, inscription between two circles.

This coin is not without interest, as it assists us in detecting at least the chronological sequence of two types of Ecgbeorht's coins, and shows that so far the order suggested by the compilers of the *British Museum Catalogue* is correct.

GRANTLEY,

VIII.

ON THE HALF-NOBLE OF THE THIRD COINAGE OF EDWARD III.

IN the volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle* for the year 1888 will be found a short paper by our late Vice-President, Mr. Montagu, whose loss we still deplore, giving a description and an illustration of a half-noble of Edward III, which he assigned to Edward's third coinage in the year 1346. Mr. Montagu showed that previously there had not been known any half-noble earlier than the fourth coinage, and pointed out clearly the error into which Kenyon had fallen when he described as of the third coinage a half-noble in the National Collection solely on account of its weight— $60\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Mr. Brice's half-noble from the Shepherd collection was also objected to by Mr. Montagu on the grounds that, although it weighed over 62 grains, the normal weight of the fourth coinage half-noble being 60 grains, it showed by its legend and style that it could not have been struck before the signing of the treaty of Bretigny in 1360. The coin belonged to the so-called "cursing type," omitting $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{A}$ in the reverse legend and the French title in the obverse legend. Finally Mr. Montagu proposed his own coin for the honour of representing the third coinage,

and gave his reasons for the attribution. Briefly they were these. His coin resembled in workmanship and style the nobles of the third coinage, and the resemblance was still further shown by the presence of certain letters showing marked peculiarities, which letters occurred on both nobles and quarter-nobles of the third coinage. The peculiar letters were: A with an ornamented barring, and F (F), in which a long line was shown to descend from the end of the upper bar. The central compartment on the reverse contained a large E, and had no ornaments, thereby differing from any known half-noble. As against this attribution, Mr. Montagu pointed out the weight as being only 54 grains, but he considered that the weight argument should not be brought to bear too strongly, in face of the marked resemblance of style.

Since the publication of the paper, no doubt some of us have been warily waiting for another of these rare coins, which might, perhaps, throw more light on this coinage. That a prize of this sort should have fallen to me, I esteem a great piece of good luck. The coin I possess has all the characteristics of the piece described by Mr. Montagu, and now in the National Collection; it also possesses the one point missing in Mr. Montagu's coin, viz., weight. My piece weighs over 60 grains, although it shows signs of wear. The two coins are from quite different dies, and it may, therefore, be worth while to accurately describe each.

1. The British Museum coin is:—

Obv.—The king standing in a ship of the usual well-known type; four ropes from stern, two from prow; ornaments on ship, two lis, lion, two lis, lion, lis, lion. The lis in the French arms are semé, instead of only three. Legend: EDWAR X D X GRA X
RAN X ANGL X N X FRANC ? DNS X hYB.

Rev.—The usual cross, with lions and crowns; in the centre a compartment, without ornaments at the corners, and containing a large $\mathcal{C}$. Mint-mark, cross pattée.
 Legend: ✠ $\times$ DOMIN $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$ R $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$ IN $\times$ EVROR $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$
 TVO $\times$ ARGVAS $\times$ M $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$.

Weight, 54 to 55 grs. Clipped, cracked, and mended.

2. The coin in my possession is of precisely the same type, but differs as follows: three ropes only from stern, one from prow; ornaments on ship, lis, lion, two lis, lion, two lis, lion.

Obv.—Legend: EDWAR $\times$ D $\times$ GRA $\times$ R $\mathcal{E}$ X ANGL $\times$ N $\times$
 FRAN $\mathcal{C}$ $\times$ DRS $\times$ hYB.

Rev.—✠ $\times$ DOMIN $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$ R $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$ IN $\times$ EVROR $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$ TVO $\times$
 ARGVAS $\times$ M $\mathcal{E}$ $\times$. The same compartment and large $\mathcal{C}$. are on both coins.

Weight, 60.75 grs. Rather worn, cracked.

There are several points about these coins which are well worthy of notice, but which were not remarked upon by Mr. Montagu. The stops are saltires, not annulets. In discussing the Balcombe find, Mr. Grueber and I had occasion to point out that saltires were used at two or three distinct periods of Edward III's reign on the silver coins; thus, very few are to be found in the first period, beginning 1351, and these were quite early in that period. They were then used again in conjunction with annulets from 1360 to 1369, and then alone till the end of the reign. The English $\mathcal{N}$ is also a characteristic feature. It occurs on the majority of silver coins issued before 1351, but after that disappears till the treaty coins of 1360. One further point is the fact of the shield being strewn with lis, rather than bearing three only; another evidence of early issue in these pieces. If more be wanted, it will suffice to mention that the bust and style generally

of these two half-nobles correspond accurately to the Florin-type pennies, and the workmanship is quite different from that of the fourth coinage. Looking to all these facts, there cannot now be any doubt that both the Museum coin and this one are of the early third coinage of Edward III.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

IX.

ON A SMALL HOARD OF GROATS OF HENRY VI TO HENRY VII.

(See Plate VI.)

SOME time since I obtained from Messrs. Spink the small hoard of groats here described. The circumstances of the find are, as usual, shrouded in mystery, a mystery so deep that the inquiries I set on foot have entirely failed in dispelling in any degree. I was told that the hoard was a find, and that the coins which I obtained comprised the whole of it. Looking to the character of the component coins, there is internal evidence of their having been a find, and, the information which I obtained was probably quite accurate. The period covered by the find was from rather before 1460 till some years after Henry VII's accession, a period of some forty years.

The number of coins of each reign were :—

Henry VI heavy coinage	1
Edward IV light coinage	34
Henry VI restored	1
Edward V	1
Richard III	1
Henry VII first coinage	3
Henry VII second coinage	21
	62

It will thus be seen that coins of all the monarchs reigning during the last half of the fifteenth century were represented in the find. There were, however, curiously enough, gaps in the sequence of the coins. Thus, the Henry VI heavy coin was not of his last issue, but of the pine-cone pellet type, the one before the last. Again, there were no heavy groats of Edward IV. A reference to the list appended to this account shows that the mint-marks on the Edward IV coins were the rose, sun, crown, cross fitchée, annulet, and cross pierced. There were absent the trefoil, a very rare mint-mark, the cross pierced with one or more pellets, and the heraldic cinquefoil, both very common mint-marks. The Edward V and Richard III coins both bore the sun and rose, to the exclusion of the boar's head, the latter being a much rarer mark than the former. The coins of Henry VII presented examples of the lis and rose, and also the cross fitchée mint-mark on the open crown groats. The arched crown coins had for mint-marks, the heraldic cinquefoil, the escallop (one coin had both these marks on it), then the regular cinquefoil, the true cinquefoil, and lastly the crowned leopard's head, a mark which was blurred almost beyond recognition. Finally, there was one example which heads the list, of an arched crown groat without mint-mark. The one coin of Henry VI restored, in 1472, and the coins from the provincial mints of Edward IV, Bristol, Norwich, and York, do not call for more mention than is given them in the list.

The hoard itself is of much interest, as by an examination of it it may be possible to confirm or dispute the sequence of mint-marks as heretofore given. The light coinage of Edward IV starts with the earliest mint-mark, and every mint-mark is present up to and including that of Henry VI's restoration. Then there is a gap, and two

common marks are absent; these two marks have previously been placed together. All the mint-marks present, therefore, are in sequence, and the two absent ones are also in sequence. This leads up to the coins commencing with Edward V. Here, again, the coins are in sequence; the absence of the boar's head indicates nothing, as the two marks were each used by both sovereigns, Edward V and Richard III.

It would seem natural to believe that all the coins in the find were issued one after the other, and that they followed on without gaps, but the condition of the pieces, as well as some of the characters on the absentee coins, will not allow of this. All Edward IV's coins, and those of Henry VI, are more or less worn; a considerable number do not come up to the average weight, and practically none turn the scale at 48 grains. The case is different with the Edward V and later pieces. They are all fine, not worn, but sometimes apparently clipped. Thus there are 7 full-weight groats and 5 which weigh at least $\frac{1}{2}$ a grain too much, 3 of these 5 weighing 49.5 grains instead of 48 grains. Added to this difference in condition and weight is a further one, which I believe has hitherto escaped notice. With one exception all the groats of Edward IV in the find bear the usual π found on the coins of the previous reign; one piece, No. 16 of London [Pl. VI. 2], has a barred $\bar{\pi}$ in $\overline{ANGL}$ and another in TAS ; all other π 's on the coin, four in number, are unbarred. Now this peculiarity will be found to exist on all the groats of Edward IV with the cross pierced and pellet mint-marks, and also on nearly all those bearing the heraldic cinquefoil and on no others [Pl. VI. 3]. The barred $\bar{\pi}$ is also used on Edward V's coins, though curiously not on the one in the find, and on that of Richard III, and finally on the early

issues of Henry VII. That the barring is not an accident is shown by the fact that the $\bar{A}$'s in $\bar{A}N\bar{G}L$ and $T\bar{A}S$ are the barred ones, to the exclusion of the others, in Edward IV's reign; that the $\bar{A}$ in $T\bar{A}S$ is the barred one in Richard III and Edward V's. Later, barring became general. There are thus good grounds for keeping together the coins bearing the cross pierced and pellet and heraldic cinquefoil of Edward IV's time, and also for concluding that they followed on the coins of that king present in the find. The evidence, therefore, from this find is to confirm the arrangement of mint-marks.

The second portion of the find is more interesting and important than the first. The coins composing it are rarer than those which occur in the earlier part; they are also finer and more varieties are represented. The coins of Edward V and Richard III do not call for further notice. Henry VII's first coinage, that with the open crown, is well represented by three specimens. The first has the combined lis and rose mint-mark on both sides; the second has the same mark on the obverse and no mint-mark on the reverse [Pl. VI. 6], and the third is struck from the same reverse die as the second, but the obverse bears the cross fitchée mark and reads $H\bar{E}NRICVS$, a very rare coin [Pl. VI. 7]. The stops on all these are crosses. There exist, but not in this find, open crown coins with trefoil stops; their rarity is a sufficient reason to account for their absence in this case. These connect the open crown groats with the earliest variety of arched crown coin, viz., that without mint-mark. A very good example of this coin was in the find; two plain arches to the crown and trefoils as stops characterised it [Pl. VI. 8]. This in its turn transmitted these features to its neighbour, and thus the groat bearing the heraldic cinquefoil was evolved [Pl. VI. 9]. There were

two examples in the find. These were followed by the coins bearing the escallop mint-mark. There is no difficulty in pointing out the earliest of the eight coins bearing this mark. It is the piece with trefoil stops. This connects the coin with the previous pieces. Besides the stops the coin presents another peculiarity which helps to settle its position in the series. The M's are Roman, not old English. This is the last coin on which all the stops are trefoils. No. 5 in the list presents on the obverse one rosette between each word as a stop, thereby replacing the trefoil [Pl. VI. 10]. This latter, however, still characterises the reverse of the coin.

The next coin, No. 6, a very rare one again, gives evidence of the close connection existing between the coins bearing the heraldic cinquefoil and the escallop mint-marks. This piece has both mint-marks, one on each side; all the stops are represented now by rosettes, and the letter E as well as the M is varied in form. It now takes the reversed 3 shape. It is curious that the find gives no example of the groat with the heraldic cinquefoil on both sides and with rosette stops, nor of the escallop groat with the peculiar E's and M's. Both coins are known, and though rare are not extremely so. The other escallop groats are of the normal varieties. It will be noted that No. 11 is of plainer work than most of them, and that circumstance was taken into consideration in placing it last. The change also from the form ADIVTORÆ to that of ADIVTOÆ will be seen to have occurred during the issue of the escallop coins.

The regular cinquefoil, the next mint-mark in the series, was represented by several coins. The earlier ones had rosettes as stops, thus connecting these with the escallop groats. Then there was a coin without stops at

all, and then some with small crosses as stops. The last coin but one described bore the true cinquefoil with crosses as stops [Pl. VI. 12].

The last coin on the list is the one bearing the leopard's head. Besides this evidence of lateness of issue, it bears another proof, viz., the abbreviation of the English title to $\pi 6L$. This form occurs on many of the later coins not represented in the find, but has not been noticed on coins bearing any of the mint-marks described in this list. The stops on this coin are crosses. This mint-mark is known to be connected on the same coin with the true cinquefoil, though there was no example of such a coin in the find.

The following is a detailed description of the coins in the hoard :—

HENRY VI.

Heavy Coinage. Pine-cone, pellet.

Obv.—M.M. cross patonce. $h\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\iota\varsigma\ \text{DI}\ \text{GR}\pi\ \text{R}\epsilon\chi\ \pi\eta\text{GLI}\ \text{N}\ \text{FR}\pi\eta\text{C}$. Pine-cone on neck, pellet each side of crown, crosses as stops.

Rev.—No m.m. $\text{POSVI}\ \times\ \text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\eta\ \pi\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon\ \eta\text{M}\epsilon\text{V}\eta\ \text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}\ \text{LONDON}$. Extra pellet in $\text{T}\pi\text{S}$ and DON quarters.

EDWARD IV.

Light Coinage. London Mint.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. rose. $\epsilon\text{DW}\pi\text{RD}'\ \times\ \text{DI}\ \times\ \text{GR}\pi\ \times\ \text{R}\epsilon\chi\ \times\ \pi\eta\text{GL}\ \times\ \text{N}\ \times\ \text{FR}\pi\eta\text{C}$. Quatrefoil on each side of neck, arches above crown and on breast not fleured.

Rev.—M.M. rose. $\text{POSVI}\ \text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\eta\ \times\ \pi\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon\ \times\ \eta\text{M}\epsilon\text{V}\eta\ \text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}\ \text{LONDON}$. Extra pellet between pellets under CIVI .

2. Another the same, except that the extra pellet is in the DON quarter.

3. As No. 1, but no stops on reverse.

4. As No. 1, but arch on breast fleured; one cross after $\Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$, and the extra pellet in the LON quarter.
[Pl. VI. 1.]
5. *Obv.*—M.M. rose. $\Theta\text{D}\text{W}\text{T}\text{R}\text{D} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{T} \times \text{R}\Theta\text{X} \times \text{T}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{N} \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{T}\text{N}\text{Q}$. Quatrefoil on each side of neck, arches above crown not fleured.
- Rev.*—M.M. sun. $\text{POSVI D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega \times \text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta \times \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$.
 $\text{CIVIT}\text{AS LONDON}$.
6. *Obv.*—M.M. sun. $\Theta\text{D}\text{W}\text{T}\text{R}\text{D} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{T} \times \text{R}\Theta\text{X} \times \text{T}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{N} \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{T}\text{N}\text{Q} \times$. Quatrefoil on each side of neck, arches above crown not fleured.
- Rev.*—M.M. sun. $\text{POSVI D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega \times \text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta \times \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$.
 $\text{CIVIT}\text{AS LONDON}$.
7. As last, except that none of the arches are fleured; one cross after $\text{D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega$, none after $\text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta$.
8. *Obv.*—M.M. crown. $\Theta\text{D}\text{W}\text{T}\text{R}\text{D} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{T} \times \text{R}\Theta\text{X} \times \text{T}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{N} \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{T}\text{N}\text{Q}$. Quatrefoils at sides of neck; arches fleured with small trefoil, except that on the breast, which has a quatrefoil below it.
- Rev.*—M.M. sun. $\text{POSVI D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega \times \text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta \times \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$.
 $\text{CIVIT}\text{AS LONDON}$. Two specimens.
9. *Obv.*—M.M. ? Much chipped, but like last.
- Rev.*—M.M. sun. Two crosses after $\Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$ and DON .
10. *Obv.*—M.M. sun. $\Theta\text{D}\text{W}\text{T}\text{R}\text{D} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{T} \times \text{R}\Theta\text{X} \times \text{T}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{N} \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{T}\text{N}\text{Q}$. Quatrefoil on each side of neck; arches fleured, except those over crown.
- Rev.*—M.M. crown. $\text{POSVI D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega \times \text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta \times \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$.
 $\text{CIVIT}\text{AS LONDON}$.
11. *Obv.*—M.M. crown. $\Theta\text{D}\text{W}\text{T}\text{R}\text{D} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{T} \times \text{R}\Theta\text{X} \times \text{T}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{N} \times \text{F}\text{R}\text{T}\text{N}\text{Q}$. Arches of crown not fleured, quatrefoil on each side of neck.
- Rev.*—M.M. crown. $\text{POSVI D}\Theta\text{V}\Omega \times \text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta \times \Omega\Theta\text{V}\Omega$.
 $\text{CIVIT}\text{AS LONDON}$. Six specimens; one has a cross after $\text{T}\text{DIVT}\text{O}\text{R}\Theta$.

12. *Obv.*—M.M. cross fitchée. ΕΔWΤΑΒD DI ΓΒΤ × ΒΑΧ ×
ΑΝΓΛ × Ν FBΤΑΝΑ ×. Trefoil on each side of neck.

Rev.—M.M. sun. POSVI ΔΑΥΝ × ΑΔΙΥΤΟΒΑ ΜΑΥΝ
CIVITVS LONDON.

13. Same, but some slight variation in the position and number of the stops.

14. Same, but m.m. both sides annulet, trefoil stops on the obverse, none on the reverse, and no trefoils at the sides of the neck.

15. Same, but no stops visible.

16. Same, but m.m. cross pierced both sides. Reads ΔΑΙ, and the Α's of ΑΝΓΛ and ΤΑΣ are peculiarly barred, the other Α being without bar: crosses as stops. [Pl. VI. 2.]

Bristol Mint.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. sun. ΕΔWΤΑRD DI × ΓΒΤ × ΡΑΧ ΑΝΓΛ
Ζ FRΤΑΝΑ. B on breast, quatrefoil on each side of neck.

Rev.—M.M. sun. POSVI ΔΑΥΝ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡΑ ΜΑΥΝ.
VILLΑ × BRISTOW.

2. Same, but × before and after Ζ, m.m. on reverse blurred, × after ΔΑΥΝ, × before ΜΑΥΝ, and reading BRISTOLL for BRISTOW.

3. Same, but m.m. crown on both sides, crosses as stops. Three examples.

4. As last, but BRÆSTOLL for BBISTOLL.

York Mint.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. lis. ΕΔWΤΑRD DI × ΓΒΤ × ΡΑΧ ΑΝΓΛ ×
Ζ FRΤΑΝΑ. Α on breast, quatrefoil on each side of neck.

Rev.—M.M. lis. POSVI ΔΑΥΝ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡΑ ΜΑΥΝ.
CIVITVS ΕΒΟΡΑCΙ.

2. Where visible, same, but $\times$ after $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$, $\times$ before $\text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$.
3. Same, but no stops on obverse and $\times$ after $\text{D}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$, trefoil on each side of neck instead of quatrefoil.

Norwich Mint.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. effaced. $\text{EDW}\pi\text{RD} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \pi\text{N}\alpha\text{L}$
 $\times \text{Z} \times \text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$. π on breast, quatrefoil on each side of neck.

Rev.—M.M. sun. $\text{POSVI D}\alpha\text{V}\text{M} \times \pi\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \times \text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$.
 $\alpha\text{IVITAS NORVIC} \times$.

HENRY VI.

Light Coinage.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. cross. $\text{hENRICV DI GR}\pi \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \pi\text{N}\alpha\text{L}$
 $\text{Z} \pi \text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$. Arches fleured with small trefoils.

Rev.—M.M. cross. $\text{POSVI D}\alpha\text{V}\text{M} \pi\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$.
 $\alpha\text{IVITAS LONDON}$. This coin has the misshapen letters π as D and R as B.

EDWARD V.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. sun and rose conjoined. $\text{EDW}\pi\text{RD DI GR}\pi$
 $\text{R}\alpha\text{X} \pi\text{N}\alpha\text{L} \text{Z FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$.

Rev.—M.M. sun and rose. $\text{POSVI D}\alpha\text{V}\text{M} \pi\text{DIVTOR}\alpha$
 $\text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$. $\alpha\text{IVITAS LONDON}$. [Pl. VI. 4.]

This coin is rather rubbed and clipped; crosses, where visible, as stops; arch on breast not fleured, nor are the arches above crown. Wt. 45 grs.

RICHARD III.

1. *Obv.*—M.M. sun and rose. $\text{RIC}\pi\text{RD} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\alpha\text{X}$
 $\pi\text{N}\alpha\text{L} \times \text{Z FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$. Arches above crown and on breast not fleured.

Rev.—M.M. sun and rose. $\text{POSVI D}\alpha\text{V}\text{M} \times \pi\text{DIVTOR}\alpha \times$
 $\text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$. $\alpha\text{IVITAS LONDON}$. Very fine. Wt. 47 grs. [Pl. VI. 5.]

HENRY VII.

(A) *First Coinage, with open Crown.*

1. *Obv.*—M.M. lis and rose. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{A} \times \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \times \text{Z} \text{FR}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}$ $\times$. The six side arches only fleured.

Rev.—M.M. lis and rose. POSVI DÆVΩ $\times$ ADIVTORΘ MÆVΩ. CIVITAS LONDON. Very fine. Wt. 45 grs.

2. *Obv.*—M.M. lis and rose conjoined. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}' \times \text{DI} \times \text{G}\text{R}\text{A} \times \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \times \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}' \times \text{Z} \text{FR}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}$ $\times$. Crown and breast arches not fleured.

Rev.—M.M. none. POSVI DÆVΩ $\times$ ADIVTORΘ MÆVΩ. CIVITAS + LONDON. In the finest possible condition. Wt. 45.5 grs. [Pl. VI. 6.]

3. *Obv.*—M.M. cross fitchée. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}\text{S} \text{D}\text{Æ}\text{I} \text{G}\text{R}\text{A} \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \text{Z} \text{FR}\text{A}$. Cross on each side of neck, arches of cross not fleured.

Rev.—From same die as last; very fine, but apparently clipped. Wt. 48 grs. [Pl. VI. 7.]

(B) *Second Coinage, with arched Crown.*

1. *Obv.*—No m.m. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \text{A} \text{DI} \text{G}\text{R}\text{A} \text{A} \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \text{A} \text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \text{Y} \text{Z} \text{FR}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}$. Crown with two plain arches, cross on each side of neck.

Rev.—No m.m. $\text{Y} \text{POSVI} \text{D}\text{Æ}\text{V}\text{Ω} \text{Y} \text{ADIVTOR}\text{Θ} \text{M}\text{Æ}\text{V}\text{Ω}$ CIVITAS LONDON. Large cross, pattée at ends, small trefoils as stops; fine. Wt. 48.5 grs. [Pl. IV. 8.]

2. *Obv.*—M.M. heraldic cinquefoil. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \text{A} \text{DI} \text{G}\text{R}\text{A} \text{Y} \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \text{A} \text{N}\text{G}\text{L} \text{Y} \text{Z} \text{FR}\text{A}\text{N}\text{C}$. Plain arches to crown.

Rev.—Same m.m. POSVI DÆVΩ A ADIVTORΘ Y MÆVΩ. CIVITAS LONDON. The ends of the cross have a slight slit in them; very fine. Wt. 46 grs. [Pl. IV. 9.]

3. As last, except FRANC for FRANC, obverse N 's unbarred, two trefoils after TAS and DON; in fine condition. Wt. 48 grs., a small flan.

4. *Obv.*—M.M. escallop. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{DI} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{GR}\text{N} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{N}\text{N}\text{GL} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{Z} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{FR}\text{N}$. Two ornamented arches to crown.

Rev.—M.M. escallop. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{VM} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{N}\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{M}\epsilon\text{VM} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{Y} \text{ } \text{LONDON}$. Two trefoils before and two after $\text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S}$, two before LONDON . Cross fourchée; the letters all ornamental; fine. Wt. 41 grs.

5. As last, but reads FRN , and has one rosette between each word instead of trefoil. There is an additional trefoil after LONDON ; very fine. Wt. 47.5 grs. [Pl. IV. 10.]

6. *Obv.*—M.M. escallop. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{DI} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{GR}\text{N} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{N}\text{GL} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{Z} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{FR}\text{N}$. Crown as before, rosettes between words.

Rev.—M.M. heraldic cinquefoil. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{VM} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{DIVTORE} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{M}\epsilon\text{VM} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{LONDON}$. Rosettes as stops; not fine. Wt. 48 grs.

7. *Obv.*—M.M. escallop. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{DI} \text{ } \text{GR}\text{N} \text{ } \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{ } \dots \text{L} \text{ } \text{Z} \text{ } \text{FR}\text{N}$. Rosette after each word where visible.

Rev.—M.M. escallop. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{LONDON}$. Cross fourchée, much branched; clipped; fine. Wt. 48 grs.

8. *Obv.*—M.M. escallop. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \text{ } \text{DI} \text{ } \text{GR}\text{N} \text{ } \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{ } \text{N}\text{N}\text{GL} \text{ } \text{Z} \text{ } \text{FR}\text{N}$. One rosette separates each word.

Rev.—M.M. escallop. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{LONDON}$. Coarser work, cross ends not so branched; fine. Wt. 48 grs.

9. As last, but reads FRN , with a rosette above crown; fine. Wt. 48 grs.

10. As last, but reads FRN , has rosette after $\text{M}\epsilon\text{V}$, one in each fork of cross, omits one before CIVI ; fair. Wt. 46.5 grs. [Pl. VI. 11.]

11. *Obv.*—M.M. escallop. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{DI} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{GR}\text{N} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{N}\text{GL} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{Z} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{FR}\text{N}$. This groat is of much plainer work.

Rev.—M.M. escallop. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{N}\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \text{ } \text{CIVIT}\text{N}\text{S} \text{ } \text{N} \text{ } \text{LONDON}$. Fair condition. Wt. 49.5 grs.

12. *Obv.*—M.M. regular cinquefoil (5 equal foils, annulet in centre). $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \bullet \text{DI} \bullet \text{GR}\text{A} \bullet \text{R}\text{EX} \bullet \text{AN}\text{GL} \bullet \text{Z} \bullet \text{FR}\text{A}$. Two ornamented arches to crown.

Rev.—M.M. regular cinquefoil. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \bullet \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \bullet \text{LONDON}$. Ends of cross as on the escallop groats; fine. Wt. 49 grs.

13. *Obv.*—M.M. same cinquefoil. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \bullet \text{DI} \bullet \text{GR}\text{A} \bullet \text{R}\text{EX} \bullet \text{AN}\text{GL} \bullet \text{Z} \bullet \text{FR}\text{AN}$.

Rev.—M.M. same. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \bullet \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \bullet \text{LONDON}$. Ends of cross much more closed in; fair. Wt. 48.5 grs.

14. *Obv.*—Same m.m. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \bullet \text{DI} \bullet \text{GR}\text{A} \bullet \text{R}\text{EX} \bullet \text{AN}\text{GL} \bullet \text{Z} \bullet \text{FR}\text{A}$.

Rev.—Same m.m. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \bullet \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \bullet \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \bullet \text{LONDON}$. Fair. Wt. 45.5 grs.

15. *Obv.*—Same m.m. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \bullet \text{DI} \bullet \text{GR}\text{A} \bullet \text{R}\text{EX} \bullet \text{AN}\text{GL} \bullet \text{Z} \bullet \text{FR}\text{AN}\text{C}$. Rosettes as stops.

Rev.—Same m.m. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \times \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \times \text{LONDON} \times$. Crosses as stops, ends of cross pattés, except for a small annulet or hole; fair. Wt. 47 grs.

16. *Obv.*—Same m.m. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \text{ DI GR}\text{A} \text{ R}\text{EX AN}\text{GL} \text{ Z FR}\text{A}$. No stops, one ornamented arch to crown.

Rev.—Same m.m. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \times \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \text{ LONDON}$. Ends of cross almost pattée; fine. Wt. 48 grs.

17. *Obv.*—Same, but reads FR, and cross between each word where visible.

Rev.—Same, but $\times \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \times \times \text{LONDON} \times$. Fair. Wt. 45.5 grs.

18. *Obv.*—Same m.m. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\text{A} \times \text{R}\text{EX} \times \text{AN}\text{GL} \times \text{Z} \times \text{FR} \times$.

Rev.—Same m.m. $\text{POSVI D}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{ADIVTO}\epsilon \times \text{M}\epsilon\text{V} \times \text{CIVIT}\text{AS} \times \text{LONDON} \times$. Fine. Wt. 49.5 grs.

19. *Obv.*—Same, but no final cross.

Rev.—Same as 16, but ends of cross more fourchés; fine.
Wt. 46 grs.

20. *Obv.*—M.M. true cinquefoil. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR} \times$
 $\text{R} \times \text{X} \times \text{NL} \times \text{Z} \times \text{F} \times$. Same crown.

Rev.—M.M. true cinquefoil. $\text{POSVI D} \times \text{DIVTO} \times$
 $\text{M} \times \text{CIVITVS} + \text{LONDON} +$. Fair. Wt.
48 grs. [Pl. VI. 12.]

21. *Obv.*—M.M. leopard's head. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR} \times$
 $\text{R} \times \text{X} \times \text{NL} \times \text{Z} + \text{FR}$.

Rev.—M.M. leopard's head. $\text{POSVI D} \times \text{DIVTO} \times$
 $\times \text{M} \times \text{CIVITVS} + + \text{LONDON}$. Work coarse,
like that bearing anchor mark; fair. Wt.
46·5 grs.

The find has been described rather minutely and at some length, especially in reference to the later coins. This seemed warranted in order to bring out clearly the relationship of the various mint-marks. The arrangement of those of Edward IV has been on its trial for some years now, and has run the gauntlet of three hoards. The coins of Henry VII were provisionally arranged by the Rev. G. F. Crowther in 1887; but some alterations were made, with Mr. Crowther's concurrence, in 1892, chiefly with reference to the position of the escallop groat. This find bears out the 1892 conclusions, and it is interesting as being one which places the position of the escallop coins beyond dispute. The arrangement of the coins by a combination of stops and mint-marks seems to point much more accurately to the true sequence than either of these features could have done when considered by itself.

It will be observed that each coin of the later part of the find has had its weight and condition placed in the list. A study of these points taken together will go far to

convince anyone that but little reliance is to be placed on the subject of weight. The coins weighing more than they should were by no means the finest in the hoard, and some of those which were in the most beautiful condition did not come up to the normal weight. In a hoard of groats of this period, however, the weight argument cannot help us; but supposing for a moment the coins had been those of quite early years of Edward IV, and had contained smaller coins, or again if the hoard had been of the period of Henry IV and V, what deductions would have been made from an extra grain or two on the penny? I am afraid possibly much more than might have been warranted.

The coins depicted on Plate VI are chiefly from the find in connection with which it is published. The coins of Edward IV, Nos. 1 and 2, although closely resembling those described in the list, are not representations of the actual specimens in the find, but are taken from examples in the National Collection; No. 3 shows the missing mint mark. In the same way, the picture of the coin of Edward V, No. 4, is taken from a fine specimen, rather than from the poor one described. The other coins are all from the find. The object of replacing the earlier poor specimens by finer ones was to show the differences existing between the early and later coins of Edward IV, the differences in the barring of the A, &c., and also the relationship of the later pieces of Edward IV to those of Edward V and Richard III.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

MISCELLANEA.

AN UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF THE PORTO-BELLO MEDAL.—The types follow, in general, the piece described in the *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii., No. 119, p. 538, the *obv.* bearing, THE BRITISH GLORY . REVIV'D . BY . ADMIRAL . VERNON, with Admiral Vernon standing to l. on a square platform. The *rev.*, however, differs from any specimen heretofore described, and has on the border, HE . TOOK . PORTO . BELLO . WITH . SIX . SHIPS . ONLY . NOV., and in the exergue, 22 . 1739 . I . K . DUBLIN. The type is that of six ships entering Porto Bello harbour.

The medal is interesting, as showing the widespread popularity of the taking of Portobello, and it may be accepted as evidence that this popularity was less attributable to political causes than is generally supposed.

An examination of the medal shows that the peculiarity which distinguishes it from other specimens—the initials I . K . and the word DUBLIN—is an addition to the die. The original exergue has been cut away, and a new one, giving the date, the publisher's initials, and the place of issue are added. I have been unable to trace the name of the artist whose initials are here given. They do not appear to occur on any of the Irish tokens of this period.

THE SUCCESSES OF FREDERICK THE GREAT IN 1757.—The following medal is also unpublished. It has on the *obv.* the legend THE . MOST . HEROÏC . G . F . III . K . OF . PRUSSIA, and the King on horseback to r.; in the exergue, WHO . CONQ . THE . AUSTRIANS . RUSSIANS . FRENCH . IMPERIALISTS . & . SWEDES. On the *rev.* is the legend, SPARES . THE . HUMBLE . SUBDUES . THE . PROUD, and Justice trampling on Discord. In the exergue, the date 1757.

The successes referred to by this medal were the victories at Rosbach and Lissau and the capture of Breslau. These victories were very popular in this country, and the portrait of Frederick the Great was to be found in nearly every shop and house.

W. TALBOT READY.



AUTOTYPE.





AUTOTYPE





A FIND OF GROATS
HENRY VI. — HENRY VII.



X.

ON THE REARRANGEMENT OF PARTHIAN COINAGE.

(See Plates VII., VIII., IX.)

*'*Αρσάκαι γὰρ καλοῦνται πάντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ μὲν
*'*Ορώδης, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης, ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι.—STRABO.

ANY essay on Parthian coinage may well begin with an expression of indebtedness to the well-known monograph of Professor Percy Gardner, which, since its publication in 1877, has been rightly recognised as the standard work on this difficult branch of numismatics. Mr. Gardner had several illustrious predecessors, but his work is distinguished from theirs not only by the excellence of its plates and clearness of arrangement, but by the numismatic acumen and sober judgment brought to bear upon the evidence, which, whether furnished by history or by the coins themselves, is rarely of a satisfactory and decisive kind.

There is probably general agreement that Mr. Gardner has been successful in determining what coins should form part of the various groups that he describes, but a divergence of opinion may well arise when we attempt to name these groups and to determine their precise relation to one another. A regal coinage—and the Parthian series is the currency of more than four hundred years—cannot

be profitably arranged like a civic coinage in large periods of fifty or even of a hundred years. Chronological exactness is of the essence of the classification, yet is, unfortunately, not attainable in cases where the coinage bears no date. It is well known that until the reign of Phraates IV (B.C. 37-2) hardly a single date is found on Parthian coins, and, further, that the literary material for reconstructing the history of Parthia is always scanty and frequently untrustworthy.¹ Even after the labours of Longuerue, Rawlinson and Gutschmid,² we cannot compile with certainty the list of Parthian monarchs or determine with definiteness the limits of their reigns. Nothing but the recovery of the *Parthica* of Apollodorus or of one of the other lost histories of Parthia will perhaps avail, though meanwhile our difficulties would probably be lessened by the compilation of a really critical *corpus* of the ancient texts relating to Parthia, accompanied by a commentary of the kind found in Clinton's *Fasti*.

During the twenty-three years that have elapsed since the appearance of Mr. Gardner's work, very large additions from the Cunningham, India Office, and other collections have been made to the series of Parthian coins in the British Museum, and at least one private collection, that of Ritter A. Von Petrowicz, has grown to be of great importance.³ Little, however, has been written on

¹ See e.g. H. Ten Cate Fennema, *Quaestiones Parthicae* (Neomagi), 1882, p. 1 f.

² Longuerue, *Annales Arsacidarum*, 1732; Rawlinson, *Parthia* (1893), mainly abridged from his *Sixth Oriental Monarchy* (1873); A. Von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, Tübingen, 1888 (ed. Nöldeke); Gutschmid's article "Persia" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., is an abridged translation of this.

³ Colonel Allotte de la Fuye of Nantes has also a collection of the coins of Persis and Parthia.

Parthian numismatics, with the important exception of papers by Markoff and Rapson,⁴ which have made known some new coins of the highest importance. These coins show us, for instance, that the tetradrachm was a much more important denomination in the early coinage than was previously suspected. They show us also that the Parthian mints were for a time largely under the influence of Greek—especially Seleucid—models. This influence is seen not only in the adoption of Seleucid types and the Seleucid (“fillet”) border, but also in the practice of directing the obverse head to the right, instead of (as usual on Parthian coins) to the left. In studying these and other new coins with a view to the preparation of the British Museum Catalogue of the Parthian series, I have been led, though reluctantly, to the conclusion that not a few modifications must be made in the accepted arrangement of the coinage as set forth in Gardner’s work. The rectifications that seem to be called for are principally in the period before Phraates IV, and it is to the attributions of that period that I confine myself in the present paper. The alternative arrangement here proposed is, however, a tentative one, and is rather a series of suggestions put forward with a keen sense of the great difficulty in arriving at certainty for this division of Parthian coinage.

It will be convenient at the outset to give the names and dates of the Arsacids as determined by Gutschmid in his *Geschichte Irans*.

⁴ Markoff, *Coins of the Arsacidae*, St. Petersburg, 1892 (text in Russian); Rapson, “Markoff’s unpublished Coins of the Arsacidae,” in *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 203 f.

	B.C.
(ARSACES, ⁵ the founder)	250—248)
TIRIDATES, brother of Arsaces [<i>infra</i> , p. 192]	248-7—211-10
ARSACES, ⁶ son of Tiridates [p. 192]	210—191
PHRIAPATIUS [p. 191]	191—176
PHRAATES I, son of Phriapatius [p. 191]	176—171
MITHRADATES I, brother of Phraates I [p. 188]	171—138
PHRAATES II, son of Mithradates I [p. 186]	138—128-7
ARTABANUS I, ⁷ son of Phriapatius [p. 184]	128-7—123
(HIMERUS, viceroy (and king?) [p. 193])	<i>circ.</i> 124—3)
MITHRADATES II, son of Artabanus I [p. 187]	123—88
ARTABANUS II ⁸ [p. 195]	88—77
SINATRUCES [p. 195]	77—70
PHRAATES III, son of Sinatrucés [p. 196]	70—57
MITHRADATES III, son of Phraates III [p. 197]	57—54
ORODES, son of Phraates III [p. 199]	57—37
PACORUS I, son of Orodés [p. 199]	<i>d.</i> B.C. 38
PHRAATES IV, son of Orodés [cp. p. 198]	37—2

The most important coin that has come to light since Gardner wrote is undoubtedly the tetradrachm reproduced in **Pl. VIII. 5**, for it has in the exergue the letters **ΗΠΡ**, which will be admitted to be a date of the Seleucid era (year 188) equivalent to B.C. 125-4. This date falls in the reign of **Artabanus I** (B.C. 128-7—123). The tetradrachm bears a head—one of the most interesting and strongly individualised of Arsacid portraits—which is identical with the head found on the drachms and bronze attributed by Gardner [**Pl. I. 9-11**; **Pl. VIII. 4**] to an earlier Parthian king, Phriapatius. The principal reason for

⁵ Gutschmid (pp. 30, 31) doubts whether Arsaces was ever actually King of Parthia.

⁶ The personal name of this ruler is not given by Justin. Most modern writers have without authority called him "Artabanus I"; see Gutschmid, p. 36, note 4; cp. p. 81; see also F. Cauer, art. "Artabanos," in Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.*

⁷ Called "Artabanus II" by those writers who have assigned the name of "Artabanus I" to Arsaces, son of Tiridates.

⁸ On the reasons for inserting this name in the list of Parthian kings, see Gutschmid, p. 81.

assigning these coins to Phriapatius was that one variety of the drachms (though one only) bore in the exergue the letters **EKP** [G. Pl. I. 10], which were naturally interpreted as year "125" of the Seleucid era, equivalent to B.C. 188-7, a date in the reign of Phriapatius. But if this interpretation is correct, it is in flagrant contradiction with the date on the tetradrachm with the same head. It can hardly be doubted that the date on the tetradrachm (of which several specimens and two varieties are now known) should prevail. For if **ΗΠΡ** be not a date, it is a meaningless combination of letters. On the other hand **EKP** need not necessarily be a date, but may be part of a proper name, or possibly it may be, as Mr. Rapson has ingeniously suggested,⁹ a date of the Parthian era beginning in B.C. 248, in which case it would be equivalent to B.C. 125-4, a date identical with that found on the tetradrachm. The difficulty in this last-named interpretation is that no other instance is known on the Arsacid coinage of the use of this native era. But whatever the explanation of **EKP** may be, it certainly seems necessary to move down all the drachms and bronze attributed to Phriapatius [G. Pl. I. 9-11], so that they may take their place with the tetradrachm of Artabanus I. This new attribution will displace the drachms and bronze assigned by Gardner [Pl. II. 13-15; cp. Pl. IX. 7] to this Artabanus I ("II").¹⁰

⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 212.

¹⁰ This king (one of the three sons of Phriapatius) calls himself **ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ** (drachm in British Museum, not published by Gardner), but he also has the epithet **ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ**. He was not, however, the brother, but the uncle, of his immediate predecessor (Phraates II). The *ἀδελφὸς* referred to must be his brother, Mithradates I, another son of Phriapatius. The only other kings to whom *φιλάδελφος* could be

Mr. Gardner has recognised the close connection in style, &c., between the drachms of "Phriapatius" [Pl. VIII. 4] and those which he assigns to his successor Phraates I [G. Pl. I. 13; Pl. VIII. 2]. If, therefore, the drachms of "Phriapatius" are moved, as I have just proposed, to a lower place in the series, it follows that the drachms of "Phraates I" must accompany them. I propose to assign them to **Phraates II** (B.C. 138—128-7), the predecessor of Artabanus I.¹¹

The predecessor of Phraates II was Mithradates I, the great Parthian king who was the first to extend materially the dominions of the Arsacid monarchs—the conqueror of Mesopotamia, Media, and Persia, and the successful antagonist of Eukratides, King of Bactria. It has been generally agreed, for reasons that seem to me rather plausible than decisive, that the principal currency of this ruler must be looked for in the familiar coins figured in G. Pl. I. 17-28; Pl. VIII. 9-11.¹² But if we

applicable are the brothers Phraates I and Mithradates I, but the date of the **ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ** coins (as determined by the **ΗΠΡ**, B.C. 125-4, tetradrachm, Pl. VIII. 5) is too late for their reigns.

¹¹ I am inclined to agree with Von Sallet and Gardner that the tetradrachm, G. Pl. I. 12 = Pl. VIII. 1, belongs to the king who issued the drachms and bronze.

¹² Markoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. III. 12 (cp. figure in Rawlinson's *Parthia*, 1893, p. 63), publishes a tetradrachm of the usual type of "Mithradates I." on which he reads the date **οΡ** = year 170 = B.C. 143-2. But on his plate the supposed **οΡ** is clearly **οϢ**: it is therefore not a date, but one of the numerous monogrammatic combinations that occur on the coins of "Mithradates I." I may here also remark that the tetradrachm ("Mithradates I"?) referred to in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, "Proceedings of Numismatic Society," pp. 6, 7, cannot now be accepted as genuine; see *Num. Chron.*, 1894, "Proceedings of Numismatic Society," p. 4. An electrotype of the coin is in the British Museum, where are also two or three other fabrications of Parthian tetradrachms.

apply what may be called the "throne and omphalos" criterion to these coins, it can, I think, be shown that this attribution is incorrect. Mr. Gardner has well pointed out that the whole of the Parthian series may be roughly divided into two great classes, the first consisting of the coins on which the archer-king of the reverse is found seated on the omphalos, the second, of those on which he sits on the throne. Now we find that on the earliest (pre-Mithradatic) coins the king sits on the omphalos. On the coins assigned by Gardner to Mithradates I, he sits first on the omphalos and afterwards on the throne. But then—if my attributions are correct—his successor Phraates II [Pl. VIII. 2] returns to the omphalos, and this seat is also occupied by Artabanus I [Pl. VIII. 4]. The successor of Artabanus, however, and all the later Parthian kings revert to the throne. If, then, the throne and omphalos test is a valid one, as I quite agree, it is obvious that the coins assigned to Mithradates I, have been placed too high in the series. They must be placed after the last "omphalos" coins and introduce the long later series of "throne" reverses. I propose to assign them to **Mithradates II** (B.C. 123—88), the son and successor of Artabanus I.

This king enjoyed, like the first Mithradates, a lengthy reign, and by his achievements earned the title of "magnus." The numerous varieties of the coinage will therefore suit the second Mithradates no less than the first.

The obverse of the coins has in various ways an affinity with the tetradrachm of Artabanus I [cp. Pl. VIII. 9 with Pl. VIII. 5], but that the coins are later than the reign of Artabanus—and especially later than Mithradates I—seems obvious from the absence of those Seleucid characteristics which were prevalent at an earlier period (see the coins

of Phraates II and Artabanus I [Pl. VIII. 1, 5] and *infra* on Mithradates I). The Seleucid border has disappeared, the head on all the coins is turned in the Parthian direction, to the left, and the Seleucid reverse-types are superseded by the "archer" of the drachms, who is now promoted to a place on the tetradrachms. This coinage, in fact, inaugurates a stereotyped Parthian, as opposed to a Seleucid, type of currency.¹³

We have now to ascertain what was the coinage of Mithradates I. A series of coins of Seleucid character

¹³ The title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ occurs for the first time in the Parthian series on some of the coins of this king. It represents, as M. Drouin has remarked ("Sur l'origine du titre royal ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ," in *La Gazette Numismatique*, Bruxelles, 1899), the *khshayathiya khshayathiyānam* (king of kings) of the Achaemenid monarchs. All modern writers have stated that the title was first assumed in Parthia by the victorious Mithradates I. This king may well have taken the title, but the proof that he did so rests solely on the attribution of these coins to his reign. If he was the first king to inscribe the title on his coins, it is remarkable that it should not appear on the coins of any of his successors (including even Mithradates II, "Magnus") until the reign of Mithradates III, or rather (according to my arrangement) of Orodes I, *circ.* B.C. 57. Even if we assign the coins of "Mithradates I" to Mithradates II, as I have proposed, there is still a considerable interval during which the title is in abeyance, at any rate, on the coins. The numismatic evidence with regard to the first appearance of the title points rather to the time of the second than of the first Mithradates. For we find ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (i) on the coins of Maues, the Saka dynast, *circ.* B.C. 120 ? contemporary with Mithradates II; (ii) on the coins of Tigranes the Great, of Armenia, who uses it on the money struck by him at Antioch (B.C. 72-70 and, perhaps, earlier, from the year B.C. 83, when he became master of Syria; Babelon, *Rois de Syr.*, p. cci. f.). It is possible that Tigranes may have adopted the title as a kind of counterblast to the pretensions of Mithradates II, or, at any rate, in imitation of him. The disuse of the title by the immediate successors of Mithradates II may be due to the influence of Tigranes, who made conquests in Arsacid territory.

[G. Pl. II. 1, 2 ; Pl. VII. 12-13] is necessarily admitted by Gardner and other writers to belong to the time of this king, for the coins bear the dates **ΓOP** (= B.C. 140-39) and **ΔOP** (= B.C. 139-138). A series of bronze coins [G. Pl. II. 4-6 ; Pl. VII. 9-11] and a drachm and obol [G. Pl. II. 3, 7 ; Pl. VII. 7, 6] which show a portrait head apparently of the same king who struck the **ΓOP** class are also assigned by Gardner to this reign. Mr. Gardner remarks (page 32) that these coins have a distinctly "Bactrian tinge" (cp. some of the coins of Eukratides, the contemporary of Mithradates I), though he does not insist (as I think quite rightly) that they were struck in Bactria. The **ΓOP**, **ΔOP** pieces belong to the closing years of the reign of Mithradates I, the other class seems to be earlier.

Yet while assigning all these coins to the time of Mithradates I, Mr. Gardner has rather discounted their importance by describing them as coins of the satraps of Mithradates. For myself, I have great difficulty in supposing that coins bearing the name and titles of Arsaces would accompany the head of a satrap ; and it is further to be remarked that the Greek or Seleucid characteristics of these coins—the head is turned to the *right*, and the fillet border generally appears—which seemed, when Gardner wrote, to differentiate them from the Parthian series proper, are no longer so remarkable now that we know, from recently published coins, the somewhat extensive influence of the Syrian on the Parthian coinage. There is now little difficulty, therefore, in regarding these coins as the money of Mithradates I, and as bearing the portrait-head of the King himself.

But we require also a coinage for the earlier portion of this reign. I would recognise this mainly in the silver

and bronze attributed by Gardner [Pl. I. 6-8; Pl. VII. 4, 5] to Arsaces, son of Tiridates (the so-called "Artabanus I"). These coins bear a head not unlike the head which we consider to be that of Mithradates I, and are especially distinguished from the bulk of Parthian coins by the use of the fillet border which, as we have seen, generally appears on the supposed "satrapal" coins that we have assigned to Mithradates I.

The two immediate predecessors of Mithradates I, namely **Phriapatius** and **Phraates I**, we have already deprived of coins (in favour of Artabanus I and Phraates II), and we have next to determine what money was used by them and by the two earliest kings of Parthia, **Tiridates** and his son **Arsaces**.

The only early coins that remain unattributed are those of what may be called the "beardless head" class [*e.g.*, Pl. VII. 1-3]. These were assigned by Gardner (Pl. I. 1-5) to Tiridates and to his (perhaps doubtful) predecessor on the throne, Arsaces, the founder. When Gardner wrote, only three varieties of legend were known to occur on this series of coins, but now that no less than six varieties are published, the attribution may prove less simple. I agree with my predecessors in thinking that these are the earliest Parthian coins, for there is certainly great difficulty in intercalating them anywhere among the bearded portrait-heads, but, at the same time, their exact attribution seems to me to require reconsideration.

The coins (drachms) are as follows:—

- i. **APΣAKOY** (G. Pl. I. 1.)
- ii. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** (G. Pl. I. 2; Pl. VII. 1.)
- iii. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** (G. Pl. I. 3, 4; Pl. VII. 2; also diobol and obol in British Museum.)

iv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟ-
ΠΑΤΟΡ British Museum, acquired in 1900.
(Pl. VII. 3.)

v. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ¹⁴

vi. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ [ΑΥΤΟ]ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟ (Obv. Head
to right.) ¹⁵

Judging from the number of dies known, these coins may be the currency of a considerable period, but their inscriptions give the best clue to the date. From legends i. and ii. nothing much can be argued, though the legend ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ (a very rare variety) would certainly seem to inaugurate the coinage of Parthia. The title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ (iii.), however early it may have been assumed by Greek and Eastern monarchs,¹⁶ does not occur on *coins* till the reign of Eukratides of Bactria, B.C. 190-160, a king who was contemporary with Phriapatus, Phraates I, and Mithradates I. It occurs also in the Seleucid series on the money of Timarchus, *circ.* B.C. 162. Unless, therefore, we are to lose sight of these land-marks, we cannot well place the ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ class earlier than Phriapatus, or later than Mithradates I. I propose to assign them to Phriapatus and Phraates I. Some may also, possibly, have been struck by Mithradates I, though, as we have already seen,

¹⁴ The original of this drachm is not now known to exist, but it has been published from an impression that belonged to Longpérier, by M. Drouin, in *Gazette Numismatique*, 1899, "Une drachme arsacide inédite."

¹⁵ Linewitch collection. See Drouin in the article cited in the previous note, and in *Rev. Num.*, 1890, p. 258.

¹⁶ Antiochus I Soter (B.C. 281-261) is called, on a Babylonian cylinder, "the great king, the mighty king." See Schrader, "Die datirung der babylonischen sogenannten Arsacideninschriften," in *Sitzungsberichte der könig. preussischen Akademie*, 1890, p. 1331.

he uses this title for his drachms with the bearded portrait-head [Pl. VII. 4]. The coins with **ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** and **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** having a simpler form of legend, and being, apparently, earlier in style than the **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ** class,¹⁷ may be assigned to **Tiridates** and **Arsaces**, son of Tiridates. This coinage is indeed hardly sufficient for the long reign of Tiridates, but the peculiar features of early Parthian history and culture do not necessarily require the assumption (made by all previous writers) that Tiridates struck coins from the first moment of his reign.

The legend **ΘΕΟΥ** (v.) is found in Bactria on the coins of Agathocles and Antimachus, contemporaries (?) of Eukratides, *i.e.*, *circ.* B.C. 190-160. It is a title used by the earliest kings of Syria, though it does not occur on their *coins* before Antiochus IV Epiphanes, B.C. 175-164. Judging, therefore, from the evidence of coins, **ΘΕΟΥ** is likely to have been adopted in Parthia during the period from Phriapatius to Mithradates I.

The title **ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ** (iv.) first occurs on the series of Alexander I, Bala, of Syria, B.C. 150-145, whose reign coincides with the later portion of the reign of Mithradates I. In the Parthian series itself, **ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ** is first found on the drachms that I have assigned to Phraates II, the son of Mithradates I, and, indeed, the reverse of our beardless-head drachm with this title [Pl. VII. 3] bears a remarkable resemblance to the reverse of Phraates II [Pl. VIII. 2]. Possibly, the **ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡ.** drachm now in question is the earliest coinage of Phraates II, while the **ΘΕΟΥ** drachm may be of his

¹⁷ Notice the attenuated figure on the reverse, which grows shorter as the Parthian coinage advances.

father, Mithradates I. The difficulty about this is, that Phraates II would thus employ the beardless-head type, though his father [Pl. VII. 4] had during the latter part of his reign used the bearded-portrait type. An alternative arrangement would be to assign **ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ** to Phraates I, and **ΘΕΟΥ** to his father, Phriapatius. Both these coins are unique, and at present their attribution may well be left doubtful.

The remaining legend (vi.) supplies the title **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ**, which is extremely rare on Greek autonomous coins. It occurs in Parthia on the money that is almost certainly of Sinatruces, B.C. 77-70, and, still later, on the coins that Gardner (Pl. IV. 18) attributes to "Phraates IV, or a usurper." The earliest, and, so far as I know, the only other appearance of **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ** is (in the Seleucid series) on the coins of Tryphon, B.C. 142-139. The title cannot, therefore, on coins, be traced earlier than the period of Mithradates I of Parthia, and it seems best to assign the drachm in question to his reign.

We have now considered the coinage from Tiridates to Mithradates II, but two or three coins of difficult attribution remain for discussion. The drachm in Pl. VIII. 7, with a short beard, bears a resemblance to our Phraates II [G. "Phraates I": Pl. VIII. 2], but its title **ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ**, its Seleucid style, and especially the date **ΘΠΡ** = B.C. 124-3, show that it cannot be of his reign.¹⁸ Gardner has assigned it to **Himerus**, the favourite of Phraates II,

¹⁸ Dr. Dressel, who has kindly examined the original in the Berlin Museum, informs me that there is practically no doubt about the date; the numerals **ΘΠ**, at any rate, are quite certain. The British Museum variety [Pl. VIII. 8], without date, belongs, of course, to the same issuer.

who, as viceroy, despotically governed Seleucia and Babylon. Gutschmid (*op. cit.* pp. 78, 79) rather arbitrarily denies the correctness of this attribution, though, if we may trust Diodorus, Himerus was actually *King* of Parthia. The tetradrachm in Pl. VIII. 6 (not known when Gardner wrote) is poorly preserved, but I am inclined to think that it belongs to the issuer of the ΘΠΡ drachm, though it bears different titles, namely, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. If, however, a difficulty is found in attributing this tetradrachm and drachm to Himerus, the alternative is to regard them as the earliest coinage of Mithradates II. The title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ is prominent on the coins that we have already assigned to him [Pl. VIII. 9-11], and—if this point may be insisted on—the letters ΤΥ found in the exergue of the tetradrachm [Pl. VIII. 6] occur also on a tetradrachm of Mithradates II (British Museum). At the same time, if we assign these coins to Mithradates II rather than to Himerus, it must be admitted that the appearance of this king greatly altered in the course of years [cp. Pl. VIII. 8 with Pl. VIII. 9].

Pl. VII. 8 is an unpublished drachm in the British Museum. It is carelessly executed, or, at any rate, badly struck, and does not closely resemble any of our known portrait-heads. The style and legend—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ—seem to indicate a fairly early date. I assign it, though very doubtfully, to Mithradates I. The portrait is not unlike his, and the bow behind the head (which is turned to the *right*) finds a sort of parallel in the club behind the head on some of the bronze coins that we have attributed to this king (Longpérier, *Arsacides*, Pl. II. 23; cp. Pl. VII. 9-11).

The British Museum tetradrachm in Pl. VIII. 3 (first

published by Rapson) is, unfortunately, not well preserved, and the monogram (?) on the reverse, the details of the drapery or cuirass, and the shape of the nose—that important Parthian feature—are not distinct. I thought at first it might be the tetradrachm accompanying the drachms [Pl. VII. 4, 5] of Mithradates I, but the reverse type (Tyche seated) rather points to the reign of Artabanus I. Possibly it is the first portrait-head of Artabanus I, treated with less care and refinement than the portrait on his known tetradrachms [Pl. VIII, 5].

The ten years that followed the death of Mithradates II (*circ.* B.C. 88) are among the most obscure in Parthian history. During this time the influence of the famous Tigranes of Armenia was predominant, and we know that he annexed portions of Parthian territory. During the years 77-70 it is fairly certain that the king of Parthia was **Sinatrucēs**, who, according to Lucian, had reached the age of eighty when he ascended the throne. I agree with Mr. Gardner in assigning to this king the coins in Pl. IX. 3, 4; G. Pl. III. 1-3, which alone uniformly present an aged portrait.

In the gap between Mithradates II and Sinatrucēs, Gutschmid has inserted a king named **Artabanus (II)**, whose existence he infers from an ingenious emendation of Justin, *Prol.* 41. There is certainly room for a king here, and I suggest the attribution to him of the coins which Gardner has given to Phraates II [Pl. II. 8-12; Pl. IX. 1, 2]. On historical grounds, this coinage is, no doubt, difficult to date, for on the drachms we find the remarkable legends **ΑΡΕΙΑ, ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ, ΤΡΑΞΙΑΝΗ, ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ**, legends which seem to point to a period of conquest, or, at any rate, to an asserted claim over Aria and Margiana. We should have looked for

such legends in the time of Mithradates I, or Mithradates II, but on numismatic grounds it seems to me—as it has seemed to Mr. Gardner—impossible to attribute them to either of these reigns. Judging from the coins themselves, they seem to follow fairly well after our Mithradates II [Pl. VIII. 9-11].¹⁹

Of Artabanus we know nothing, but certainly the portrait on these coins bears considerable resemblance, allowing for difference of age, to that of Sinatruces [Pl. IX. 3, 4], who was doubtless of Arsacid stock, and who calls himself ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Perhaps the conjecture may be permitted that Artabanus II was the father of Sinatruces. It would appear (Lucian, *Macrob.* 16) that Sinatruces came back to Parthia after a sojourn or exile among the Scythian Sakauracae. Perhaps Artabanus, during a period of confusion and opposition from Armenia, had set up his court in the remoter parts of the empire, in Aria and Margiana.

Three kings only remain to be noticed—Phraates III and his two sons, Mithradates III and Orodes. To Phraates III I would assign the coinage that Gardner attributes to Mithradates II [Pl. IX. 5, 6, 8; G. Pl. II. 17-24]. The tetradrachm Pl. IX. 5, it will be observed, bears the title ΘΕΟΥ, which, according to Phlegon, was a title assumed by Phraates III; but without laying much stress on this, it may be further pointed out that these coins seem, on account of their monograms, to belong to this king rather than to Mithradates II. The

¹⁹ Notice the treatment of the head, the style of the cuirass, and the reverse type (archer) of the tetradrachm. These coins bear monograms which are distinct from those on the coins of Mithradates II (G. "Mithradates I"), and which are not found on the coins of later kings.

monograms are of a well-known series, in which ΣP , Λ , &c., often occur, and which is found in several later reigns—on the coins (according to Gardner) of Mithradates III, on those of Orodes and of Phraates IV. It seems desirable to keep these groups of monograms in proximity. This can be done if we transfer Gardner's "Mithradates II" to Phraates III. If, however, the attribution to Mithradates II be maintained, two reigns (Artabanus II and Sinatruces), with two different series of monograms and letters, will break the continuity of the ΣP , &c., series.

The drachms and bronze with helmeted head assigned by Gardner [Pl. II. 13-15; Pl. IX. 7] to Artabanus I ("II") are almost identical in appearance with the drachms that I give to Phraates III [Pl. IX. 6; G. Pl. II. 19-22]. It is convenient, therefore, to class them with his coins, though, in this case, it is rather a difficulty that Phraates employs two different legends on his drachms: i. $\text{ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ}$; ii. $\text{ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ}$. The unsatisfactory alternative is to assign the coins to some unknown ruler of about the time of Phraates III.

To Mithradates III, Gardner has attributed a series of drachms and bronze [G. Pl. III. 11-14; Pl. IX. 12, 13] with a portrait-head that admittedly resembles that of Orodes.²⁰ Gardner considers this resemblance to be a family likeness—Mithradates being the brother of Orodes. And he further points out that Mithradates has a different legend from Orodes, and that he wears a

²⁰ This supposed coinage of Mithradates III resembles the coinage of Orodes in several other respects; the triple tie of the diadem; the bulging out of the hair; and the occurrence of a star behind the head.

necklace of clasps, while Orodes is adorned with a spiral necklace. The difference of legend must be admitted, but I doubt whether much weight can be allowed to the distinction between the two kinds of necklace, for we find (under Orodes) a clasp necklace worn by Paçorus, and also, occasionally, by Phraates IV when he became sole king.

New light seems to be thrown on this supposed coinage of Mithradates III by the remarkable drachm [Pl. IX. 13], named and dated, which, as I have elsewhere shown (*Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 92, No. 3), must have been struck by Phraates (IV) in the year ΓΟΣ, *i.e.*, B.C. 40-39, during the lifetime of his father Orodes.²¹ This drachm has the clasp necklace, and the head is practically identical with the head on a drachm [Pl. IX. 12 = *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 92, No. 4] which Gardner (p. 37) assigns to Mithradates III.²² We seem compelled, then, to refer the coins of Mithradates III to the time of Orodes, when they were probably struck under the influence of Phraates (IV), though with the head of Orodes.²³

²¹ In the Von Petrowicz collection is a remarkable tetradrachm (*obv.* Bust of Orodes (?), *rev.* King seated holding Nike) bearing, like this drachm, the date ΓΟΣ.

²² In *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 92, No. 4, I read this drachm (Pl. IX. 12) as Mr. Gardner had read it. Col. A. de la Fuye kindly informs me that he reads (and I think rightly) οΕ after the word ΑΡΕΑΚΟΥ. He regards οΕ as a date = year 270 = B.C. 43-42. If οΕ is not a date, it may be merely an engraver's blunder—the whole inscription is carelessly executed—*e.g.* οΕ may be the last two letters of ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΕ, written, by inadvertence, in two different parts of the coin. Longpérier (Pl. VII. 83) reads on a similar coin ΘΕΟΝ.

²³ The coins of Gardner's "Mithradates III" here transferred to Orodes are inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, and also ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. All the coins hitherto assigned to Orodes have the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, and the reversion to the simpler ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

To Mithradates III, whom we have thus deprived of his coins, I attribute the only specimens not yet assigned, those of Gardner's "Phraates III" [Pl. IX. 9, 10; G. Pl. III. 4-10].

With regard to the coins to be assigned to Orodes (and to Pacorus) I am quite in agreement with Mr. Gardner [G. Pl. III. 15-30; IV. 1, 2; cp. Pl. IX. 11], though, if the attribution above discussed be accepted, we shall have to add the coins of Gardner's "Mithradates III."

The tetradrachms of Phraates IV (the successor of Orodes), and of the later Parthian kings, are dated, and though not a few difficulties remain, we are, for the first time, in comparatively smooth water. I will not, therefore, make further demands on the attention of those readers who have kindly followed me so far. For the sake of lucidity, no less than of brevity, I have omitted many matters of detail, some of which would, I imagine, support the attributions here proposed, though, on the other hand, it may well be that I have omitted—of course, unintentionally—to notice various points that may be held to make against my views.²⁴

In conclusion, I may say that the main object of this paper will have been attained if it stimulates discussion, and leads to the publication of coins not hitherto made known.

WARWICK WROTH.

ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ is, I must admit, an objection to the proposed transference. It may be remarked, however, that Orodes and his sons (Pacorus and Phraates IV) indulged in many varieties of legend on their coins.

²⁴ There are many topics of interest that require discussion; for instance, the relationship to the Parthian series of the coins of Andragoras (Howorth in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 33), of those of the Kamnaskires dynasty (Elymais?), and of those of Persis. Still more important is a discussion as to Parthian mint-places.

NOTES ON PLATES VII.—IX.

All the coins, unless otherwise described, are in the *British Museum*.

Plate VII.

1. Tiridates and Arsaces (his son). **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ**. Wt. 61·3 grs.
2. Phriapatius and Phraates I. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ Θ**. Wt. 58·4 grs.
3. Phraates I or II. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡ**. Wt. 60 grs.
4. Mithradates I. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** = Gardner, Pl. I. 6.
5. Mithradates I. Similar to No. 4. Wt. 60 grs.
6. Mithradates I. *Obv.* Head of King, diademed (Mithradates I); fillet border. *Rev.* **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ**. Bearded head in Parthian or Persian head-dress (Mithradates I or one of his predecessors). Wt. 9·4 grs.
7. Mithradates I. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ** (and monogram ?) = G. Pl. II. 3.
8. Mithradates I ? *Obv.* Head with bow at neck ; border of dots. *Rev.* **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛ ΑΡΣΑΚ**. Wt. 57·4 grs. Purchased of Mr. G. le Strange in 1881.
9. Mithradates I. = G. Pl. II. 4 (*obv.* Border of dots ?).
10. Mithradates I. *Obv.* Head in fillet border. *Rev.* **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ**.
11. Mithradates I. = G. Pl. II. 6.
12. Mithradates I. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΓΟΡ**. Wt. 241·1 grs.
13. = G. Pl. II. 2.

Plate VIII.

1. Phraates II. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ**. = G. Pl. I. 12. Berlin Museum.
2. Phraates II. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ**. Wt. 64 grs.
3. Artabanus I ? **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ**. = Rapson, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 213, No. 4.

4. Artabanus I. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ. = G. Pl. I. 9.
5. Artabanus I. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. = Rapson, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 213, No. 2.
6. Himerus or Mithradates II ? = Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 214, No. 5. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ; in ex., ΤΥ and mon.
7. Himerus or Mithradates II. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. = G. Pl. II. 16; in ex., ΘΠΡ. Berlin Museum.
8. Himerus or Mithradates II. = Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 214, No. 6.
9. Mithradates II. = *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 116, No. 36.
10. Mithradates II. Wt. 65 grs.
11. Mithradates II. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Wt. 64·5 grs.

Plate IX.

1. Artabanus II. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Wt. 246·3 grs.
2. Artabanus II. = G. Pl. II. 9.
3. Sinatruces. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ [ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ] ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. The British Museum does not possess an original tetradrachm. This specimen is from a plaster cast in another collection.
4. Sinatruces. Wt. 64 grs. Cp. G. Pl. III. 2.
5. Phraates III. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Wt. 240·4 grs.
6. Phraates III. Same inscription as No. 5, without ΘΕΟΥ. Wt. 60 grs.
7. Phraates III ? ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Wt. 59·3 grs.
8. Phraates III. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Wt. 63·3 grs.

9. Mithradates III. = G. Pl. III. 4. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

10. Mithradates III. Similar inscription to No. 9, with ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ for ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Wt. 61·4 grs.

11. Orodes. *Obv.* of drachm of Orodes.

12. Phraates (IV) under Orodes. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ(ΟΣ ?) ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟ Ε ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ = *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 92, No. 4. Cp. *supra*, p. 198, note 22.

13. Phraates (IV) under Orodes. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ [ΑΡ]ΣΑΚΟΥ ΔΙΟ[Υ or Ε ?] ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ [Φ]ΡΑΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ [Φ]ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΓΟΣ = *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 92, No. 3.

XI.

UNPUBLISHED OR RARE COINS OF SMYRNA IN THE BODLEIAN CABINET.

THE large collection of Greek coins in the Bodleian Library is singularly strong in some regions, just as it is quite absurdly weak in others. From the first it has depended entirely on donors, and has never possessed any endowment of its own, so that its increase comes entirely from the chance gifts of the collector and the traveller, not from systematic additions by its curators.

Among the well-represented districts is Ionia, one of the earliest benefactors of the cabinet having been William Raye, Consul at Smyrna. He made over to the library, in 1704, 600 Greek coins obtained from the widow of Daniel Patridge, a Smyrna merchant, who had himself intended to give them to the Bodleian had he survived. The Patridge-Raye gift accounts for the fact that the cabinet contains some dozens of Smyrniot coins not found in the *British Museum Catalogue*. The majority are varieties of known types, but a certain amount appear to be wholly new to the collector. I have therefore thought it worth while to prepare a list of them for the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

TETRADRACHM OF SECOND CENTURY, B.C.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Kybele r., turreted.

Rev.—**IMYP**  **NAION** in oak wreath.

Æ. Grs. 256. Size 1.4.

The monogram on the reverse of this very fine coin differs wholly from those on the two pieces of similar type in the *B. M. Catalogue*. It must have belonged to a magistrate whose name began with **EY**, as those letters are emphasized.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Kybele r., turreted.

Rev.—**IMYP**. Portable altar with three legs, narrow waist, handles, and large cover. **ΤΙΜΩΝ** (l.)

Æ. .5.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Kybele r., turreted.

Rev.—Portable altar, &c. **IMYP**. Π]ΡΟΙΕΝ[ΟΣ.

Æ. .5.

These magistrates' names do not appear among the similar coins in *B. M. Cat., Smyrna*, 65—70.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate, border of dots.

Rev.—**IMYPΝΑΙΩΝ**. Hand in cestus, to l. palm-branch. **ΑΠΟΛΛΩ**; in exergue **ΝΕΩ**.

Æ. .55.

Also a new magistrate's name.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—**IMYP**. Lyre. **ΕΥΜΑΧΟΣ**.

Æ. .45.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—**IMYPΝΑΙΩΝ**. Lyre charged with a very large star across the chords. **ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ**.

Æ. .45.

This large star suggests that the lyre may be the constellation *Lyra*.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—**ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ**. Homer seated l., his right hand raised to his chin, holding volumen on his knees; behind him transverse staff. **ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ**.

Æ. ·9.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ**.

Æ. ·9.

9. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ**.

Æ. ·9.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ**.
ΤΟ Β.

Æ. ·9.

11. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **[Φ]ΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ**.

Æ. ·9.

12. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΗΡΩΔΗΣ**
.....ΧΙΟΥ.

Æ. ·9.

13. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ**
... ΕΡΙΟΞ ΤΟ Β.

Æ. ·9.

14. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. **ΝΙΚΙΑΣ**
... ΩΤΟΣ.

Æ. ·9.

15. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—As last. ΦΑΝΗΣ
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ.

Æ. 9.

16. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—Similar type, in front, star.
ΙΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ
ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ.

Æ. 9.

IMPERIAL TIMES.

[Without Emperors' heads.]

17. *Obv.*—ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΚΛΗΤΟΝ. Bust of the Senate draped, with formal curls, to r., on each side of the neck Z and M.

Rev.—ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ. ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΗΝ. Rome in military dress standing to left, holding spear in r. and trophy in l.

Æ. 8.

A very pretty coin, of the finest work of the early empire. The type seems quite unknown.

TIME OF THE ANTONINES.

18. *Obv.*—[ΣΙΠΥ]ΛΗΝΗ. Bust of Cybele Sipylene r., turreted: border of dots.

Rev.—CΜΥΡΝΑ ΙΩΝ Lion r., holding tympanum in his front paws.

Æ. 7.

A combination of the *obv.* of B. M. 160, with the *rev.* of B. M. 169.

TIME OF SEVERUS OR SLIGHTLY LATER.

19. *Obv.*—**ΙΕΡΑ CΥ ΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ** Youthful bust of the Senate r., border of dots.

Rev.—**CMYPNAIΩ NE ΠΙΜΕΝΕΚ**; in exergue, **ΛΕΟΥΣ**. Two Nemeses face to face, each plucking chiton at neck; one holds bridle, the other cubit rule; at foot of latter a wheel; border of dots.

Æ. 9.

A well-known type, but Menecles is a new magistrate.

TIME OF GORDIAN.

20. *Obv.*—**ΙΕΡΑ CΥ ΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ** Youthful bust of the Senate r., border of dots.

Rev.—**CMYPNAIΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΡΤΙ**; in exergue, **ΟΥ ΑΣΙ** Tetrastyle temple, in which Statue of Tyche, with modius, rudder and cornucopiæ to l., border of dots.

Æ. 10.

The type of B. M. 239, but with the magistrate Tertius, whose name is found only on the Amazon Smyrna type in the B. M. Collection.

IMPERIAL COINS WITH PORTRAITS.

21. *Obv.*—Young bare head of an emperor, much like that of C. Cæsar, draped to r.

Rev.—**CMYPNAI** Crab.
ΩΝ

Æ. 6.

22. *Obv.*—**ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ** Draped bust of Faustina junior to r.

Rev.—**CΤΡΑΚΛΠΡ[ΟΚΛ]ΟΥ CΟΦΙCΤΟ**; in exergue, **CMYP**. Two Nemeses face to face, each plucking chiton at neck; one carries bridle, the other cubit rule. [No wheel.]

Æ. 11.

This well-known type does not occur on the coins of Faustina II, in the B. M.

23. *Obv.*—**ΚΡΙСПΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ** Draped bust of Crispina to r.

Rev.—... **ΡΟ ΣΓΡΑ ΜΕΛΕ**; in exergue, **ΣΜΥΡ** . . . Commodus riding to r., with spear uplifted; under feet of his horse a captive, with hands bound, seated to r.

Æ. 1·1.

No coins of Crispina are in the B. M. The name of the strategos, **ΜΕΛΕ**, is unfortunately in a state of hopeless mutilation.

24. *Obv.*—**ΙΟΥ ΜΑΜΕ ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑΣ**. Draped bust of Julia Mamæa to r.

Rev.—**ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ**. Heracles holding cantharus, club and lion skin, to l.

Æ. ·9.

This is a coin of Mamæa hastily and unskilfully altered into one of Otacilia (not, of course, of Aquilia Severa); the engraver has not even taken the trouble to change the **ΙΟΥ ΜΑΜΕ** into **ΜΩΤΑΚΙΑ**. The piece is in excellent condition, so that the idea of a faulty restrike is excluded.

25. *Obv.*—**ΠΟ ΛΙΚ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ** Draped and bare-headed bust of Saloninus to r.

Rev.—**ΖΜ** (in field) **ΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟ ΡΩΝ** (in field). Heracles with cantharus, club and lion skin, to l.

Æ. ·8.

The bare youthful head and want of imperial titles, show that this is a piece of Saloninus, and not of his grandfather Valerian. He seems to have been hitherto unrepresented at Smyrna.

C. OMAN.

XII.

ON A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT CARHAYES, CORNWALL.

IN November, 1869, a large hoard of Roman coins was discovered in the parish of St. Michael Carhayes (or Caerhays), a village about ten miles east of Truro, on the coast near Dodman Point. The discovery, I am told, was made by two labourers, who were digging a ditch in a wooded valley called the Beechtree Wood, on the property of Mr. Williams, of Carhayes Castle. The valley was once a tidal creek, and when the labourers had dug through the black earth of vegetable deposit, nearly three feet thick, they came to sea-sand and, in it, three stones set to enclose a small triangular space. In that space was a tin jug fastened with a wooden plug, and when the finders had battered off the neck, plug, and handle, they found the interior full of Roman coins. The total number of coins in the jug must have been, so far as I can make out, not less than 2,500. The hoard was at once divided. The jug and some 1,500 coins passed into the possession of the late Mr. J. M. Williams, and, with the exception of some coins given away, are still preserved at Carhayes Castle. A summary of these, in total 1499, with a notice of the discovery, was contributed by the late Rev. W. Willimott, then rector of the parish, to the Archæological Institute in 1870 (*Journal*, xxvii. 142, 208). The total

of coins seems to have been since diminished by gifts, which must have amounted in all to not far short of 200 coins. Thus 30 coins were given by Mr. Williams to the Royal Institution of Cornwall and deposited in the Truro Museum (*R.I.C. Journal*, Vol. iii. No. 12, pp. xxi., xxix.), and Mr. W. C. Borlase, in his Laregan Catalogue, mentions 28 as presented to him. The remainder, 1,309 in number, were submitted to me with the jug in 1888 by the kindness of Mr. Williams and Mr. Willimott. The other part of the hoard, somewhere about 1,000 coins, was kept, I am told, by one of the finders, long since dead, and ultimately came into the possession of Mr. Dunn, of Mevagissey. Of these 1,000, 100 were given by Mr. Dunn to the Wisbeach Museum; about the same number were dispersed among private individuals, and the rest, 790 in number, were submitted to me in 1890, through the Rev. W. Iago, to whom I am indebted for much of the above information and for other kindnesses.

The hoard is a good specimen of a numerous class. It consists wholly of "third brass" minted between the accession of Valerian (A.D. 253) and the death of Probus (A.D. 282). Many hoards of almost identical contents have been found in England and northern France, and it is probable that they were buried or lost during the troublous years, which followed the death of Probus in 282 and the usurpation of Carausius in 287. More hoards probably were buried than lost: the Carhayes hoard certainly was buried on purpose, if the circumstances of the discovery have been correctly reported to me. The discovery of such a hoard in Cornwall need cause no surprise. Roman remains, coins or other, of the first or second century, are somewhat infrequent west of Exeter, but during the third century the Roman element in the

far west becomes more apparent. The tin-streams, neglected since the days of Cæsar, seem now to have been reopened. It cannot be an accident that nearly all the known Romano-British vessels or objects of tin or pewter are connected with the period 250—400. The pewter slabs dredged out of the Thames near Battersea at various times in this century can hardly be earlier than the Constantines, and we may equally ascribe to the fourth century the one existing piece of direct evidence that Romans ever sought tin in Cornwall—I mean the inscribed pig of tin which I detected some years ago in the Truro Museum. Not unnaturally we find the Roman coins of 250—400 are also relatively plentiful in Devon and Cornwall, and parallels to the Carhayes hoard are not unknown. They have been found in Devon, at Bovey Tracey, Hennock, Compton Gifford, and Milter Down, and in Cornwall, at Mopas (or Malpas) Passage near Truro, Morvah, Ludgvan and (I believe) Land's End.

The tin jug in which the coins were found must, when perfect, have resembled a squat claret jug. At present, with its neck broken off, it stands eight inches high, and is just three times as much round its greatest circumference. The metal has been tested by expert analysis, and is almost pure tin.

The following catalogue is, in the main, a list of the reverses, with references, where desirable, to the second edition of Cohen's *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (vols. v. vi., 1885—6), and statistics of the numbers of coins of each reverse. I have catalogued the two parts of the hoard separately, because it was not inconvenient to do so, and it seemed a good opportunity of illustrating the extent to which a half or a third of a large hoard, taken at random,

may be reasonably considered as representative of the whole. So much of our knowledge of hoards is a knowledge only of such random portions that the figures here ascertainable seemed worth printing. I think the result is reassuring. W means Mr. Williams's half, X Mr. Dunn's.

The hoard contains very few new varieties, and none, so far as I can judge, of the least importance.

VALERIAN.

		W	X
FELICITAS AVGG. Cohen 53 . . .		1	0
RESTITVTOR ORBIS. C. 183 . . .		1 (2)	0

GALLIENUS.

ABVNDANTIA (exergue B). C. 5 . . .	11	1
AEQVITAS AVG. (field VI. and €). C. 24 .	2	—
AETERNITAS AVG. C. 38 . . .	1	4
APOLLINI CONS. AVG. C. 72, 73, 77 .	5	4
BON. EVEN. AVG. (ex MT). C. 98 . .	1	—
CONCOR. AVG. C. 116 . . .	1	—
CONCORDIA	1	—
CONSECRATIO	1	—
DIANAE CONS. AVG. (ex. S, xi. or xii). C.		
157, 158, 160, 163, 165 . . .	16	7
FELICITAS PVBL. C. 192 . . .	—	1
FIDES MIL. C. 246 . . .	—	3
FORTVNA RED. and REDVX. C. 260, 261,		
265, 269	8	5
HERCVLI CONS. AVG. (ex. €). C. 317 .	—	1
IOVI CONS. AVG. (ex. S). C. 341, 344, 352	5	1
IOVI PROPVGNAT. (field XI.). C. 380 .	3	—
IOVIS STATOR (field G). C. 388 . .	1	—
IOVI VLTORI. C. 408? . . .	—	1
LAETITIA AVG.	4	—
LIBERAL. AVG. (field S). C. 563 . .	2	1
MARTI PACIFERO (field H). C. 617, 621	5	3
NEPTVNO CONS. AVG. (ex. S and N). C.		
667, 670	4	—

	W	X
ORIENS AVG. C. 699?	—	1
PAX AVG. (field T). C. 727	5	1
PAX PVBLICA	1	—
PIETAS. C. 785	—	1
PROVI. PROVID. or PROVIDENTIA AVG.	5	1
RELIGIO AVG. (field Q). <i>Obv.</i> —IMP.		
GALLIENVS AVG. apparently the same		
as Cohen's <i>Valerian</i> 177, 178	1	—
SALVS AVG. (field * P)	1	—
SECVRIT. PERPET. (field H). C. 962	4	2
SOLI CONS. AVG. (ex. N). C. 979	3	—
VBERITAS (1008) VBERTAS	1	1
VICTORIA AVG.	1	1
VIRTVS AVG. and AVGVSTI. C. 1221, 1321,		
1322	5	2
Uncertain	10 (108)	5 (47)

SALONINA.

AVG. IN PACE (ex. MS.). C. 17	3	—
FECVNDITAS AVG. (field Δ). C. 44: but		
the obverse has CORNEL · SALONINA ·		
AVG.	1	—
IVNO AVG. (ex. MS.). C. 55	—	2
IVNO CONSERVAT. (field N). C. 56	1	—
IVNONI CONS. AVG. (ex. Δ). C. 69	1	—
IVNO REGINA (field P). C. 67	1	—
PIETAS AVG. and AVGG. C. 77, 79, 84	3	—
VENVS VICT. and VICTRIX. C. 126, 129	2	—
VESTA FELIX (field S). C. 147	1 (13)	— (2)

POSTUMUS.

COS. IIII. C. 31	4	—
COS. V. C. 32	1	—
FIDES EQVIT. (ex. P). C. 59	1	—
IMP. X. COS. V. C. 144	1	—
IOVI VICTORI. C. 161	—	2
ORIENS AVG. (field P). C. 213	3	—
P.M. TR.P. COS. II. P.P. C. 243	—	2

	W	X
PAX AVG. C. 215, 227	12	4
PAX EQVITVM (ex. T). C. 228 . . .	1	—
SAEC. FELICITAS. Apparently a new variant. <i>Rev.</i> —Felicity to l. with cadu- ceus and cornucopiae	—	1
SALVS AVG. C. 336, 339	1	1
VIRTVS EQVITVM (ex. T). C. 441, 443 .	2	—
Undecipherable	2 (28)	— (10)

LÆLIANUS.

VICTORIA. C. 4	2	—
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VICTORINUS.¹

AEQVITAS AVG. 4	5	—
COMES AVG. C. 18	1	—
FIDES MILITVM. C. 36	6	1
INVICTVS (field *). C. 49	51	27
Ditto C. 46	—	1
PAX AVG. C. 79 (with or without star in field).	59	32
Ditto, C. 83, 85	—	2
PIETAS AVG. C. 90	27	14
PROVIDENTIA AVG. C. 101	35	30
SALVS AVG. C. 112, 118	56	42
VICTORIA. C. 126 (or variant thereof) .	1	1
VIRTVS AVG. C. 131	33	24
Undecipherable	18 (292)	4 (178)

MARIUS.

CONCORDIA MILITVM. C. 4	—	1
SAEC. FELICITAS. C. 13	1	—
VICTORIA AVG. C. 19, 20	4	1
VIRTVS AVG. C. 22	1 (6)	— (2)

¹ As there has been controversy respecting the name Piavonius, borne by this ruler, I may say that nothing in this hoard (nor on any coin known to me) supports the notion that it was Pius Avonius.

TETRICUS SENIOR.

	W	X
AEQVITAS AVG.	3	—
COMES AVG. C. 17, 18	33	29
CONCORDIA AVG. C. 22, 23	1	—
FIDES MILITVM. C. 37, 39, 43	17	22
HILARITAS AVGG. C. 54	68	29
INVICTVS. C. 60	—	1
LAETITIA AVGG. <i>and</i> AVG. N. C. 70, 71, 75	109	98
MARS VICTOR. C. 80	—	1
PAX AVGG.	95	87
PRINC. IVVENT. C. 131	2	2
SALVS AVGG. C. 153, 154	40	20
SPES AVGG. <i>and</i> SPES PVBLICA	25	21
VICTORIA AVG. C. 185	22	14
VIRTVS AVGG. C. 201, 207	45	29
Undecipherable	31 (481)	10(363)

TETRICUS JUNIOR.

COMES AVGG. C. 7	2	7
PAX AVGG. C. 34	5	4
PIETAS AVGG. <i>and</i> AVGVSTOR. C. 48, 53, 59, 60	34	27
PRINC. IVVENT. C. 62	14	3
SPES AVGG. C. 88 (89 ?)	70	46
SPES PVBLICA. C. 97	54	55
Undecipherable	17 (196)	13(159)

CLAUDIUS II.

AEQVITAS AVG. C. 6, 7 (10 ?)	15	1
AETERNIT. AVG. C. 16	2	—
ANNOA AVG. C. 21, 22	5	—
CONSECRATIO. C. 41, 43, 50, 54	9	3
FELIC. TEMPO. C. 77	1	—
FELICITAS AVG. C. 79, 80	3	5
FIDES EXERCI. C. 86	2	—
FIDES MILITVM. C. 88, 92	4	—
FORTVNA AVG. C. 96	—	2
FORTVNA(E) RED. (REDVX). C. 104, 108	4	—

	W	X
GENIVS AVG. C. 109, 110 . . .	4	3
GENIVS EXERC. C. 114 . . .	1	2
IOVI VICTORI. C. 125, 129, 131 . .	4	1
LIBERALITAS AVG. C. 144 . . .	2	—
LIBERT. <i>and</i> LIBERTAS AVG. C. 150, 151, 152	6	—
MARS VLTOR. C. 159, 160 . . .	1	2
ORIENS AVG. C. 185 (? 186) . . .	1	—
P.M. TR.P. II. COS. P.P. C. 214 . .	3	—
PROVID. <i>and</i> PROVIDEN. <i>and</i> PROVI- DENTIA AVG. C. 226, 227, 230, 234 .	9	5
SALVS AVG. C. 262, 265	2	1
SECVRIT. AVG. C. 268	1	—
SPES AVG. C. 276	1	—
SPES PVBLICA. C. 281	4	—
VICTORIA AVG. C. 293, 294, 295 . .	7	—
VIRTVS AVG. C. 313, 314	2	—
Undecipherable	13 (106)	2 (27)

QUINTILLUS.

APOLLINI (field H). C. 5 . . .	1	—
CONCORDIA AVG. C. 8, 17 . . .	3	—
FIDES MILITVM (field E). C. 28 . .	2	—
FORTVNA REDVX (field Z). C. 32 . .	2	—
LAETITIA AVG. (ex. XII). C. 39 . .	1	—
MARTI PACI. (ex. P). C. 47 . . .	2	—
PAX AVGVSTI C. 52	1	—
PROVIDENT. AVG. (ex. S). C. 59 . .	2	—
SECVRIT. AVG. (field XI). C. 63 . .	1	—
VICTORIA AVG. (field F). C. 70 . .	1	—
VIRTVS AVG. (field B). C. 73 . . .	2 (18)	1 (1)

AURELIAN.

ORIENS AVG. (ex. XXI*; field II). C. 143	1	—
Ditto, C. 154	1	—
PACATOR ORBIS (ex. CL). C. 161 . .	—	1
PAX AVGVSTI (field * T). C. 169 . .	1	—
PROVIDEN. DEORVM (ex. T XX). C. 183	1	—

ROMAE AETERNAE (ex. Q). C. 220	.	.	W	X
SOLI INVICTO (ex. II). C. 230	.	.	1 (5)	— (2)

TACITUS.

FIDES MILITVM (ex. BA). C. 47	.	.	1	—
LAETITIA FVND. (ex. XXI B). C. 52	.	.	1	—
PAX AETERNA (field R*). C. 65	.	.	1	—
PROVID. DEOR. C. 86	.	.	1	—
SALVS PVBLICA (field C). C. 130	.	.	1	—
TEMPORVM FELICITAS (field ΔA). C. 144	.	.	1 (6)	— (0)

FLORIANUS.

AEQVITAS AVG. (ex. XXII). C. 1	.	.	1	—
PROVIDENTIA AVG. (ex. XXI A.) C. 77.	.	.	1 (2)	— (0)

PROBUS.

ABVNDANTIA AVG. C. 1	.	.	1	—
ADVENTVS AVG. (ex. R*A). C. 37.	.	.	1	—
COMES AVG. C. 105	.	.	2	—
CONSERVAT. AVG. (ex. T XXX). C. 188.	.	.	1	—
FIDES MILIT. and MILITVM. C. 248, 252	.	.	3	—
LAETITIA AVG. (ex. IIII). C. 329	.	.	2	—
MARS VICTOR (ex. II and III). C. 334	.	.	4	—
MARTI PACIF. (ex. ΔXXI). C. 350	.	.	1	—
PAX AVG. (field D). C. 401	.	.	2	—
Ditto (field L)	.	.	—	1
PIETAS AVG. (field C). C. 435	.	.	1	—
PROVIDENTIA AVG. (ex. III). C. 496	.	.	1	—
SALVS AVG. (field B). C. 571	.	.	1	—
SECVRITAS ORBIS (ex. I). C. 624	.	.	1	—
SOLI INVICTO. C. 647	.	.	1	—
TEMPORVM FELICITAS. C. 728	.	.	1	—
VIRTVS AVG. (ex. IIII). C. 816	.	.	1 (24)	— (1)
Undecipherable	.	.	20	2
			1,309	790

F. HAVERFIELD.

XIII.

THE FIRST GOLD COINS OF ENGLAND.

(See Plates X. and XI.)

It has not infrequently occurred to me that there are two separate issues of English coins, which have not received from numismatic writers the full amount of attention, to which for more than one reason they are fully entitled.

The issues to which I refer, are those of the gold penny by Henry III, and of the florin and its parts by Edward III. With regard to each of them I propose to say a few words, and in doing so, to treat both of the actual coins and of their history. Though there is little new to add, it will be well to gather together what has already been said on the subject.

First, as to the gold penny of Henry III. In the year 1736, Martin Folkes published "A Table of English Gold Coins from the eighteenth year of King Edward the Third, when gold was first coined in England, to the present time," thus clearly showing that he was unaware of any gold coins having been struck under Henry the Third. In 1745 and again in 1761 the work was reprinted with the same title, but to the edition of 1763, in which the Tables of English Silver and Gold Coins were reproduced by the Society of Antiquaries, a Supplement

is appended, and there, as Plate VI., No. 18, in an unobtrusive position between nobles of Henry IV and VI, the gold penny of Henry III is for the first time figured.

In all three editions of Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, this same Supplemental Plate appears. In Snel-ling's *View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, printed in 1763, an engraving of the gold penny is pre-fixed to the Introduction, and it is stated that it was "but within a twelvemonth that Mr. Hodsol has had the good fortune to have his fine cabinet adorned with this truly curious and valuable piece."

Pinkerton, in his *Essay on Medals*, 1808, engraves the same coin on Pl. II., No. 1, and adds (vol. ii., p. 433) that only three such gold pennies were at that time known, one of which was in the possession of Mr. Hodsol and another in that of Mr. Solly.

A second and different specimen of the gold penny is figured in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii. (1841), p. 191, in illustration of a paper on a new method of obtaining representations of coins; but the author, J. W. B. (J. W. Burgon), merely describes the coin and says that only three specimens of it are known to be in existence. Two of these in the British Museum form the subject of a short article by Mr. S. F. Corkran, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. viii. (1868), p. 234; but no illustrations are given, and there is but little added to the information that had already been published by Snelling.

A poor engraving of a gold penny of Henry III appears in Noel Humphreys' *Coinage of the British Empire*, published in 1854, as Pl. XXI. No. 1. It there seems to have been inserted as an after-thought, among foreign siege-pieces and pieces of necessity.

In 1870, Mr. H. W. Henfrey, in his *Guide to the Study*

and *Arrangement of English Coins*, has a woodcut of the first mentioned coin, and says that the workmanship is much superior to that of the silver coins of the same period.

In 1884, Mr. Kenyon's excellent work on the *Gold Coins of England* made its appearance, but though an account of three varieties of the gold penny is given, the coin by some unfortunate accident is not represented in the Plates. A woodcut of one, however, appears upon the title-page, and a much enlarged figure of the same coin is stamped upon the back of the original binding of the volume.

An example of the variety of the gold penny of Henry III, reading LVNDÆ on the reverse, is given in the autotype Plate (VII. 238) of Grueber's *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*, issued in 1899.

Such are the principal notices that have been published of the coins now under consideration; but before proceeding to cite the various contemporary records of their issue and the allusions to them in ancient chronicles, it will be well to describe in some detail the four varieties of the gold penny of Henry III that are at present known.

1. *Obv.*—h ENRIC' REX · I · I · I · Bearded king, crowned and in his robes, seated facing on a throne, holding in his right hand a sceptre ending in a fleur-de-lis-like ornament, and in his left hand an orb surmounted by a cross. The throne has a plain vertical arm on either side, and a shorter plain leg. The edges of the seat are beaded, a line of annulets runs along the back of the throne, and the floor below is diapered; the feet of the king extend to the edge of the coin. There is a beaded circle around the whole.

Rev.—WIL^Λ LAM ONL^Λ VND : within two beaded circles, and between the limbs of a voided cross extending nearly to the outer circle, and having a pellet in the centre ; in each angle of the cross an expanded rose between three small pellets.

N. British Museum. 45½ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 1.]

This coin is at present unique. Its pedigree is as follows:—It belonged to Samuel of Lincoln; was acquired by Mr. Hodsol in 1762; subsequently entered the Tyssen collection; was bought by Mr. Roberts at the Tyssen sale in 1802, and was acquired with the Roberts collection by the Museum in 1810.

2. *Obv.*—η ENRIQ' REX : III' : King seated, as on No. 1. The vertical arms of the throne are beaded instead of being plain, as are also the legs. In other respects the type is almost identical.

Rev.—WIL^Λ LAM ONL^Λ VND : As No. 1 but not from the same die.

N. J. E. 44¾ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 2.]

This coin is also at present unique. It has suffered by being perforated, though the hole has been skilfully plugged. It was formerly in the Cuff collection (dispersed in 1854), thence passed into that of Mr. Wigan, and is now in my own cabinet.

3. *Obv.*—η ENRIQ' REX · I · I · I' Bearded king seated as on Nos. 1 and 2. The arms and legs of the throne more distinctly formed of pellets.

Rev.—WILL EM : O NLV ND^Λ : As No. 1.

N. British Museum. 45½ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 3.]

Col. Leslie Ellis, 45½ grs. ; J. E. 45¾ grs.

All three coins are apparently from the same dies. The Museum specimen originally belonged to Mr. Solly, then passed into the possession of Mr. Tyssen, from whose executors it was purchased in 1802. Col. Leslie Ellis's coin is in fine condition, and was found in recent times in Italy, probably on its Eastern side. Mine, purchased in Rome, is unfortunately rather worn.

4. *Obv.*— η ENRIQ' REX : I-I-I' : Bearded king, seated as on No. 1; the end of the sceptre more distinctly in the form of a fleur-de-lis, the arms and legs of the throne formed of pellets.

Rev.—WILL EM : O NLVR. DEN :• As No. 1.

N. J. G. Murdoch, Esq. 45½ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 4.]

There is but one specimen known of this coin. This was bought privately by Mr. Martin from Mr. Trattle; at his sale it was bought by Capt. Murchison, from whose collection it passed into that of the Rev. E. J. Shepherd, at the sale of whose coins it was bought by the late Mr. Montagu. From his collection it was acquired by Mr. John G. Murdoch, who has kindly allowed me to figure it.

It is impossible to determine the order in which these four varieties were struck; but not improbably that in which I have placed them is correct. They were all issued by the same moneyer, Willem, who also coined long-cross silver pennies, reading on the obverse η ENRIQVS REX : III, and on the reverse WIL LEM ONL VND. The king's head on these pennies is bearded and the hair on either side of the forehead is represented by two crescents, each enclosing a pellet. A sceptre ending in a fleur-de-lis is in his right hand.

It is to be observed that the Lombardic **Ń** is used on the obverse of No. 2, instead of the Roman **N**. The Lombardic **Ń** also appears on the reverse of No. 4, and it is a curious fact that the Lombardic **Ů** is employed instead of **V** on some of the long-cross silver pennies of Henry III. Both **Ń** and **Ů** are employed on the Great Seal of Henry III of 1259. The **H** in **hĤNRIC** on No. 3 is also noteworthy, as is the **L** with a branched end on Nos. 1 and 2.

With regard to the types: that of the king seated (the sovereign type) had already been in use for his pennies by Edward the Confessor; but in that case the king was looking to the right instead of being full-faced. The full-faced sovereign seated was destined to reappear on the florin of Edward III and on the first English "sovereign" struck in 1489 under Henry VII. The reverse type is merely a modification of that of the long-cross pennies first struck under Henry III, the three large pellets in the angles of the cross being replaced by an expanded rose between three small pellets. The voided cross was no doubt intended to assist as a guide in cutting the coins into halves and quarters, a practice which would be even more necessary with the gold than it was with the silver pennies.

It has usually been thought that the first actual portrait of an English king that appeared upon his coins was that of Henry VII. I am, however, inclined to claim the carefully executed head upon these coins as intended to be a real portrait. Anyone comparing the face on the coin with that of Henry III on his monument in Westminster Abbey, as given by Stothard,¹ in his *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, will at once see the similarity in the broad forehead, the long side-locks, the beard, and

¹ Ed. 1817, Pl. I., opposite p. 30.

the general expression. The beard is longer and there are moustaches on the monument, but allowance must be made for the interval of fifteen or sixteen years between the two portraits. Mr. Andrew will, I believe, carry back portraiture on English coins at all events to the time of Henry I.

The weight of the gold penny was, as we shall presently see, fixed at twice that of the silver penny.

All four varieties are of extreme rarity.

In treating of the historical allusions to the history of these coins, I can hardly do better than commence with an extract from Leake's *Historical Account of English Money*,² published in 1745: "We are told from the Manuscript Chronicle³ of the City of *London*, that this King (Henry III), in 1258, coin'd a Penny of pure Gold, of the Weight of two Sterlings, and commanded it should go for twenty Shillings; but this is such a singular Assertion, and so contrary to Experience, that it requires to be corroborated by other Proofs, before it can be admitted to any Degree of Probability."

The required tangible proofs were not long afterwards forthcoming, and the Manuscript Chronicle has now been printed by the Camden Society under the careful editorship of Mr. Thomas Stapleton.⁴ The passage in question appears under the year 1257, towards the end of the 41st year of Henry III, and is quoted in the description of the supplemental plates to Folkes's *English Coins*. The Latin text is given below.⁵

² P. 72.

³ Tindal's *Rapin*, 1732, Notes, fol. 347; Maitland's *History of London*, 1739, p. 53.

⁴ *De antiquis legibus liber*. "Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum," &c.

⁵ "Hoc anno creavit Rex monetam auream denar', (quare

The chronicle, however, goes on to record that in the same year (1257), on the Sunday⁶ after the Feast of All Saints, the King having summoned the mayor and citizens of London to the Exchequer, demanded their opinion, and adjured them by the fealty they owed him that they should certify him according to their consciences, whether the aforesaid coin would be useful for the common convenience of his kingdom or not: who, after counsel and conversation among themselves, came before the King and said, "That through that coin great damage might arise to his kingdom, and especially to the poor therein, the chattels of most of whom were not worth a gold penny." And they farther said that through this coin gold would become much cheaper, since this money would

denarium or denariorum) ponderis duorum sterlingorum, de auro purissimo, et voluit ut ille aureus curreret in pretio viginti sterlingorum."—*Op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶ "Hoc anno die Dominica proximo (*sic*) post festum Omnium Sanctorum, venientibus Maiore et Civibus Londoniarum coram Domino Rege per preceptum suum, ad Scaccarium, posuit illos ad rationem, conjurans eos in fide, qua tenentur ei, ut certificassent ipsum secundum conscientiam eorum, si predicta moneta foret utilis ad commune commodum regni sui, an non. Qui, habito consilio et colloquio inter se, venerunt coram Rege dicentes, 'Quod per illam monetam posset magnum dampnum pervenire regno suo et maxime pauperibus regni sui, quorum plurimorum catalla non valent unum aureum. Et insuper dixerunt quod aurum per hanc monetam multum vilius haberetur, cum in tot manus illa moneta dispersa fuisset; quod nunc patet, quia aurum de folio, quod semper solebat valere decem marcas, nunc non valet nisi novem marcas vel octo.' Unde, multis rationibus ostensis quod illa moneta non fuit utilis, dixit Dominus Rex 'Volo quod ista moneta currat, denarius pro viginti sterlingis, ita quod nullus cogatur ad illum capiendum, et qui illum ceperit, possit illum excambiare, ubi voluerit, sine occasione, et, si voluerit, veniat ad excambium nostrum et habebit pro quolibet aureo decem et novem denarios et obolum.'"—*Op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

be dispersed into so many hands; which, indeed, was now obvious, because gold-leaf, which always used to be worth ten marks, was now not worth more than nine, or even eight. Whence, after many reasons had been shown why that coin was not useful, our lord the King said, "I will that that money shall be current, the penny for twenty sterlings, but so that no one shall be compelled to take it, and whoever has taken it shall be able to exchange it where he will, without loss, and if he likes, let him come to our exchange, and he shall have for each gold coin nineteen pence half-penny."

The corroboration of the chronicler by the discovery of the coins themselves induced antiquaries to make farther researches, and Mr. Holmes found among the records in the Tower, in the Close Rolls of the 41st year of Henry III, a precept directed to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of London to the following effect:⁷ "As to gold money it is commanded to the mayor and sheriffs of London that they shall proclaim within the aforesaid city that the gold money of the King, which the King had had made, should for the future be current in the city aforesaid, as elsewhere in the realm of England, both for buying and selling, viz., each penny for twenty sterling pennies, and that the silver money of the King should in like manner

⁷ Rot. Claus., Ao., 41, Rs. Hen. III, M. 3. "De moneta aurea mandatum est Majori et Vicecomitibus London', quod clamari faciant in civitate predicta, quod moneta Regis aurea, quam Rex fieri fecit, de cetero currat in civitate predicta, quam alibi per regnum Anglie tam ad empiones quam ad vendiciones faciendas, viz. quilibet denarius pro XX denariis Sterlingorum et quod moneta Regis argentea currat similiter sicut currere consuevit. Teste Rege apud Cestriam XVIto die Augusti. Per Consilium Regis." — Folkes, p. 208; Snelling, *Gold Coins*, ii.

be current as accustomed—dated at Chester on the 16th day of August. By the King's Council."

It will be observed that this precept is dated the 16th August, 1257, and that the meeting of the King with the mayor and citizens did not take place until the Sunday after the Feast of All Saints, or the 4th of November in that same year. It is probable, therefore, that some general feeling of discontent with the new coins led to the summoning of the city magnates to discuss the question of their utility with the King.

John Capgrave, in his *Chronicle of England*, from some unknown cause antedates the issue of the gold penny of Henry III by eleven years. He says,⁸ "In the XXX zere of his regne he let make a new money of gold, whch we clepe now a ferthing of gold: than they cleped it a peny of gold; for this was the cry thorw the land, that no man refuse a peny of gold, but take it in stede of XXd." Of course, inasmuch as in Capgrave's time, *circa* 1430, the noble was current for six shillings and eight pence, the "ferthing" would be twenty pence, the nominal original value of the gold penny.

In his book of the *Illustrious Henries*, Capgrave is nearer the mark. Between A.D. 1253 and 1257 he says,⁹ about this time a new gold coin was struck by the King's command, and proclamation was made throughout the cities of England that no one should dare to refuse a gold penny in exchange for twenty pence.

From the small number of coins that have survived, and from the evident difficulty that there was in getting

⁸ *The Chronicle of England*, by John Capgrave, ed. 1858, p. 155.

⁹ Hingeston's translation, Rolls Series, 1858, p. 94.

them universally accepted as money, as well as from the fact that no other moneyer's name than that of Willem appears upon any of them, it seems extremely probable that their coinage and issue were of very short duration.

At the same time it does not appear that they were withdrawn from circulation. Snelling¹⁰ was able to collect and publish several interesting records relating to the new gold coins at dates subsequent to their first issue in 1257. The first of these, dated November, 1259, mentions seventy-two gold pennies of the new coinage which are to be placed in the Treasury.

The second document is a "Liberate" addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer, authorising them to pay to William Fitz Richard, the keeper of the Exchange in London, the sum of forty shillings for twenty pennies of the new Gold Money which he had bought by the King's order. This is dated October 25th, 1265. The third, dated in 1267, directs the repayment of sixty shillings paid for thirty gold pennies of the new coin. The fourth is as late as 1270, and mentions two shillings paid for one gold penny.

From these notices the inference has been drawn that, within seven or eight years of their issue, the current value of the coin was raised from twenty pence to twenty-four. Indeed, Kenyon¹¹ says that this was effected by proclamation in 1265. I am not, however, aware of the existence of any such proclamation, and it is worthy of notice that the gold pennies bought for the King, and referred to in these documents, were paid into the Wardrobe, and used by the King as offerings on St. Edward's day and other feast days. It seems, therefore, not im-

¹⁰ Introduction, pp. ii. and iii.

¹¹ P. 15.

probable—as was the case with James I and his Bezant¹²—that he took a pride in offering in the church gold coins of his own striking, and was, therefore, willing to buy them up at somewhat above the current value. Possibly the ecclesiastics who received them had them melted down.

Edward III, of whose florins I shall shortly have to speak, inherited the same desire for gold coins with which to make his offerings in church. In the Issue Roll of Michaelmas in the first year of Edward III (1327) is the following passage¹³: “To Robert de Wodehous, Keeper of the Wardrobe aforesaid, for the price of eight score and fourteen florins of Florence, the price of each florin as purchased 39½d., delivered to the same keeper by the hands of John de Houton his clerk, for one pound and one mark of gold, for the offerings of our lord the King to be made on the day of his Coronation, and a pound contains 104 florins and a mark 70; by the King’s command under his privy seal which he used before he undertook the rule of his Kingdom, which is here among the briefs and mandates of this first year—£28 12s. 9d.”

To return to the gold penny, Pegge, in a letter to the

¹² *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. xvi., p. 254.

¹³ “Roberto de Wodehous Custodi Garderobe supradicte, in precio viij^{xx} xiiij Florenorum de Florencia, precio ejuslibet floreni prout emebantur xxxix d. ob. liberatorum eidem custodi per manus Johannis de Houton clerici sui pro una libra et una marca auri, pro oblationibus domini Regis die Coronacionis sue faciendis, et con. et libra ciiij florenos et marca lxx: per mandatum Regis de privato sigillo suo quo utebatur ante regni sui regiminis suscepcionem, quod est hic inter brevia et mandata de hoc anno primo—xxviiij li. xij.s. ix.đ.” For this extended transcript I am indebted to Sir H. Maxwell Lyte. A somewhat erroneous translation of the passage is given in the *Issues of the Exchequer*, by Frederick Devon (1837, p. 139) and repeated in *Notes and Queries*, 1st S. Vol. I (1849), p. 119.

Gentleman's Magazine for 1756,¹⁴ calls attention to a bond or instrument between two Jews, dated in Henry's 46th year, 1261-62, in which mention is made of a Jaku of gold which he supposes to be the penny. He states that among the Jews Jaku meant "refined," and that they used the words denarius and Jaku like penny and sterling. It seems likely that Pegge's views are founded on the word זקוק, which he would probably transliterate Jakuk, having occurred in an abbreviated form. The word in the full form is derived from זקק, and seems to mean "refined," but it is constantly used in Jewish "*Shetaroth*"¹⁵ of the thirteenth century in the abbreviated form זקק to designate a mark of thirteen shillings and four pence.

After 1270 we hear no more of the gold penny, and though Edward I rehabilitated the silver coinage, he made no attempt to reintroduce a gold currency, neither did Edward II. It was left for Edward III to undertake the task, and it was not until the seventeenth year of his reign, in 1343, after an interval of upwards of eighty years since the gold coinage of Henry III, that he did so. The delay seems to have been due to the manner in which that coinage was received in London. Already some years before its issue in 1257, gold coins had been struck in several foreign countries. The *Augustalis* of Frederick II is mentioned in a document of 1232,¹⁶ and the issue of florins at Florence dates from the year 1252.¹⁷ In France, Louis IX had also introduced a gold coinage at about the same time. Edward III himself seems to have had a *Florin*, with the fleur-de-lis, struck for Aqu-

¹⁴ P. 465.

¹⁵ *Hebrew Deeds of English Jews before 1290*. 1888, pp. 131, 190, 272, &c.

¹⁶ Engel and Serrure, *Num. du Moyen Age*, vol. ii., p. 814.

¹⁷ Keary, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. vi. (1886), p. 87.

taine before 1337, and the *Ecu* or *Chaise* probably from 1337 to 1344. I take the dates from a letter of Mr. Lionel M. Hewlett.

Gold coins, therefore, formed an important element in the foreign transactions of the English merchants, and in a Parliamentary enquiry held in 1343 upon the condition of the currency they had to be taken into full consideration.

The history is related at some length by Ruding,¹⁸ so that it would be superfluous to reproduce it here. The deliberations resulted in a recommendation that, if the Flemings were willing, one kind of gold money should be made in England and in Flanders, which should be current in both those countries, and that the use of all other money of gold should be prohibited and the coins should be treated as bullion.

It does not appear that any special arrangement was made with the Flemings, but strangely enough Grafton in his Chronicle, under the date of November, 1337, states that Edward was made vicar-general and lieutenant to the Emperor, with power to coin money of gold and silver. He adds that he kept his winter at the castle of Louvain and caused great sums of money, both of gold and silver, to be coined at Antwerp. Froissart makes the same statement, but at present the coinage has not been identified.

The discrepancy among different chroniclers with regard to the date of the first issue of gold coins by Edward III in England is most remarkable. Ruding¹⁹ has already written, "It is extraordinary that the date of a circumstance so strikingly impressive as the issuing of a gold coinage must have been, should be involved in any uncertainty: our old chroniclers, however, vary

¹⁸ *Ann. of the Coinage*, vol. i., p. 215.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 217, note.

materially from the truth in their accounts. Caxton says that in his 14th year, King Edward commanded his coin of gold to be made forthwith the best that might be, that is for to say, the floreyne that was called the noble, price of six shillings eight pence of sterlings (Sig. W. 1); Fabian, that, in the same year, he changed his coin, and made the noble and the half-noble of the value of six shillings, eight pence, nine pence, or ten pence (vol. ii., p. 207); Grafton, that in 1339 he caused a new coin of gold to be coined, called the noble, of the value of six shillings, eight pence, or nine pence, &c., and that, in 1343 he made a new coin of gold, and named it the floreyne, that is to say the penny of the value of six shillings, eight pence, &c., which coin was specially ordained for his war in France; for the gold thereof was not so fine as the noble, which as before, in the 14th year of his reign, he caused to be coined.

“Holinshed likewise speaks of the superior fineness of the noble, which was coined in his 14th year, over the florins of 1344, the value of which he fixes at six shillings and eight pence (*sub anno* 1344).

“Stow makes the same mistake as to the value, but fixes the coinage in the year 1342 (*Annals*, p. 229, quoted by Leake, p. 102).”

It is needless to remark that Edward III struck no nobles before his eighteenth year.

The monk of St. Albans²⁰ is more accurate than most of the chroniclers, but places the issue of the florins in 1343. His words are as follows: “Fabricatio florenorum. Hoc anno apud turrin Londoniarum jussit rex florenos fieri; scilicet denarium, obolum et quadrantem.”

²⁰ *Chronicon Angliæ*, Rolls ed., 1874, p. 16.

Henry Knighton of Leicester,²¹ under A.D. 1344, says: “*Moneta auri oritur—Eodem tempore nobile et obolus et ferthing de auro coepere florere in regno,*” but adds that no one could be compelled to take gold for a larger amount than twenty shillings. From what he says farther, it would appear that the striking of nobles at York and at other important cities had been in contemplation.

Fortunately, the Proclamation authorising the currency of the Florin and its parts, and two indentures under which they might be struck are still extant, and have for three centuries at least been known by antiquaries to be in existence. The Proclamation is dated the 27th January, 1344 (or 1343 O.S.), and is to be found in Rymer’s *Foedera*.²² It has also been printed by Pinkerton.²³ It is in Norman French and to the following effect—

“The King to the Sheriffs of London, Greeting. As it has been accorded and agreed by our prelates and other great persons of our Kingdom of England, for the common profit of us and of our people of the said kingdom that three coins of gold be made in our Tower of London, that is to say:—

“One coin of two Leopards, the piece current for six shillings, which shall be of the weight of two small florins of Florence of good weight; and one coin of gold of one Leopard, weighing the half of the other aforesaid coin, the piece current for three shillings.

“And one coin of gold of a Helmet, weighing the fourth part of the aforesaid first coin, the piece current for eighteen pence.

“The which coins of gold ought to have course among all manner of persons within the said realm of England.

²¹ *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, Rolls ed., 1895, p. 30.

²² V., 403.

²³ *Essay on Medals*, vol. ii., p. 437.

“ We command that in the said city, and in the places where you shall see that it ought to be done within your bailiwick, you shall have proclaimed and published the aforesaid things, and that every man of whatever condition, private or stranger, shall receive the said coins of gold in every manner of payment, and likewise that the coins be refused of none under evident peril.

“ And herein fail in no manner.

“ Given at Westminster on the 27th day of January.”

The indentures for coining the three denominations of gold money set forth in the Proclamation are given by Ruding. The first was with George Kirkyn and Lotte Nicholyn of Florence, masters and workers, and Hugh de Brandon and others, changers of the money, and is dated 1343; but it is doubtful, as Ruding observes, whether any coinage of gold took place by virtue of this indenture. It is, however, interesting to note that the masters and workers of the mint were “ of Florence,” the original home of the florin.

The second indenture, under which in all probability the florin and its parts were actually struck, bears date 1344, and is between the King and Walter Dunflower, then master and worker; and fifty florins were to be struck from the pound Tower of gold. The so-called leopards of the proclamation are in reality lions, leopard being the French heraldic term for a lion passant guardant, such as those in the royal arms of England.

When we bear in mind that, so far as we are aware, nearly five hundred years elapsed between the time when these florins were in circulation and the date when an actual gold florin was seen by an antiquary, and further, that during all this period the proclamation and indenture relating to their striking and currency were extant, it is

not surprising that speculations as to the exact types of the coins were not always well founded.

Ruding himself, who knew the half and the quarter florin, thought that the florin probably presented an impression allusive to the royal arms of England, which originally consisted of two lions only, the third having been added by Henry II. Like myself, he regarded the "piece of two Leopards" as referring to the type and not to the weight. The Leopard and the Helmet are identified by the types.

Camden says that "the first gold that K. *Edw.* 3 coyned was in the yeare 1343, and the peeces were called *Florences*, because Florentines were the coyners."²⁴ This statement is repeated by Fleetwood²⁵ in 1745.

Leake,²⁶ in his *Historical Account of English Money*, published in 1745, was the first to give a figure of the quarter florin. He describes it as having on one side a helmet with lambrequins and the crest of the lion passant guardant, as we see upon Edward's great seal, the field being *semé de lys*.

Wise,²⁷ in 1750, publishes the same coin, which then belonged to Bryan Fairfax, and says that, owing to the recalling of the gold coinage on August 20, 1344, neither the florin nor the half was then known. Both his description and engraving of the coin are slightly inaccurate.

As Ruding relates, it was soon discovered that this money was rated too high, that is, was overvalued in proportion to the silver coins then current, and it was on that account generally refused. For this reason it was ordered by a proclamation, dated on the 9th of July in the same year,

²⁴ Remaines, ed., 1614, p. 105.

²⁵ App. to *Chronicon preciosum*, p. 10.

²⁶ Plates, 2nd ser., ii. 14, p. 104. ²⁷ *De nummis*, &c., p. 233.

to be taken in payment only with the consent of those to whom it might be offered. And by a subsequent proclamation on the 20th of August immediately following, it was declared to be no longer current without the consent of the receiver, but was to be considered as bullion, and taken according to its value as such.

The issue of nobles with a new type, of greater weight, and current for six shillings and eightpence, the third of a pound, instead of for six shillings only, was authorised in the autumn of the same year. The coinage of the florin and its parts lasted, therefore, only for a few months, and it is not to be wondered at that they are rare.

Of the florins at the present time two only are known, the same number of half-florins, and of quarter-florins three, but not one of these seven coins is the exact duplicate of another.

It will now be desirable to describe the different varieties of the coins.

FLORINS.

1. *Obv.*—EDWR • D • GRÆ • REX • Ꝁ N 6 L • Æ • FRÆNC • DNS • hIB. The king beardless, crowned and robed, seated facing under a Gothic canopy of one central and two side arches, holding in his right hand a sceptre with a floriated finial, and in his left an orb surmounted by a cross pattée on a stem; on either side of the throne is a leopard or lion facing: the field is semée of fleurs-de-lis, eleven in number. The legend is between two beaded circles, and on each side of the canopy is a foliation of three arches, at the junction of the two upper of which is a cusp. The throne and the feet of the king cut through the inner circle.

Rev.—✠ Ihc TRÆNSIENS PÆR MÆDIVM IL-
LORVM IBTT between two beaded circles.
In the centre a tressure of four semicircular

curves, consisting of an outer plain line and an inner one beaded, the cusps foliated, containing a short cross with quatrefoiled and foliated ends, and a quatrefoil in the centre upon a beaded cross voided. In each curve of the tressure is a crown, and outside each angle a lion passant guardant.

N. British Museum. 106 grs. [Pl. XI. No. 5.] Kenyon, Pl. I. 1.

2. *Obv.*—ÆDWR' ° D' ° GRÆ ° REX AN G L' ≡ FRANCO ° DNS ° hIB °. King seated as on No. 1, but more fleurs-de-lis, twenty-three in the field, one of them between the king's right arm and his body.

Rev.—As No. 1.

N. J. E. 107 grs. [Pl. XI. No. 6.]

Both these coins were found by boys grubbing in the bed of the Tyne at Newcastle about the year 1857, when No. 1 was purchased for the British Museum. No. 2 came into the possession of Mr. William Forster, of Carlisle, at the sale of whose coins in 1868 I purchased it.

HALF FLORINS.

1. *Obv.*—✠ÆDWR' ° D ° GRÆ ° REX ° ANGL ° ≡ ° FRANCO ° DNS ° hIB'. A crowned lion or leopard sejant guardant to the left, his tail passing between his hind legs and turned behind him; attached to his neck is a banner, which flows back over his shoulder, bearing the arms of France ancient and England quarterly. The legend is between two beaded circles.

Rev.—✠° DOMINÆ ° REX ° IN ° FVRORE ° TVO ° TRGVTS ° MÆ. A tressure of four curves with lions in the exterior angles, containing a cross nearly the same as that on the florin, but with three trefoils at the end of each limb instead of the crown and foliation.

N. British Museum. 54 grs. [Pl. XI. No. 7.] Kenyon, Pl. I. 2.

This coin appears to have come to light in 1800. On August 30th of that year Mr. Thomas Sharp, a well-known antiquary of Coventry, addressed a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*,²⁸ announcing that he had had the singularly good fortune to acquire a gold coin which he recognised as the half-florin of Edward III. A good engraving of the piece accompanies his letter. In his obituary notice in 1841²⁹ it is stated that the coin was then in the British Museum. It would appear that Mr. Sharp parted with it to Mr. Roberts, as it was bought for the Museum with the Roberts collection in 1810. It is engraved in Ruding, Suppl., part ii., Pl. III. 6, and in Kenyon, Plate I. 2 B.

2. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.—✠ DOMINꝰ ꝰ Nꝰ ꝰ IN ꝰ FVRORꝰ ꝰ TVO ꝰ
TRGVTS ꝰ Nꝰ. As No. 2.

N. J. E. 53½ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 8.]

This specimen was purchased by Mr. Wigan at Brumell's sale in 1850, and came into my cabinet in 1872. Its principal difference from No. 1 consists in its having no annulets at the sides of the initial cross of the legend on the reverse.

QUARTER FLORINS.

1. *Obv.*—EDWR' ꝰ R' ꝰ ANGL' ꝰ ✠ ꝰ FRANK' ꝰ D' ꝰ HIB'. A lion guardant crowned, with tail extended, standing to the left on a cap of maintenance surmounting a helmet with mantling attached; the field semée of fleurs-de-lis, ten in number. There is a beaded circle outside the legend, and a faint plain inner circle on which some of the fleurs-de-lis encroach.

²⁸ *G. M.*, 1800, vol. ii., p. 945. ²⁹ *G. M.*, 1841, vol. ii., p. 437.

Rev.— $\circ$ EX π LT π BITVR ε IN ε GLORI π . A short cross potent upon a beaded cross voided, with foliated ends, a quatrefoil in the centre.

N. British Museum. 27 grs. [Pl. XI. No. 9.] Kenyon, Pl. I. 3.

This specimen originally belonged to Bryan Fairfax, and at his sale in 1751 was acquired by Martin Folkes, and after his death passed in 1756 into the possession of Mr. Harnott. After passing through the hands of the Rev. J. W. Martin, it eventually came into the collection of Captain Murchison, at whose sale in 1864 it was purchased by the Trustees of the Museum.

2. *Obv.*— $\circ$ EDWR' $\circ$ R' $\circ$ π NL' $\circ$ Σ $\circ$ FR π NC' $\circ$ D $\circ$ hIB'.

As No. 1, but the mantling plain and not cut into lambrequins.

Rev.— $\div$ $\circ$ EX π LT π BIT π R ε IN ε GLORI π . As No. 1.

N. J. E. 26 $\frac{1}{10}$ grs. [Pl. XI. No. 10.]

Like the half-florin, this was Mr. Brumell's, and was purchased at his sale by Mr. Wigan, coming into my collection in 1872.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 2, but the head of the lion farther from the edge.

Rev.—As No. 1.

Hunter Collection, Glasgow. 27 grs.

Ruding,³⁰ *Suppl.*, pt. ii., Pl. III. 5 (slightly inaccurate).

So far as the legends on the obverses of all these coins are concerned, it is well to note that they offer the first examples of the title of King of France being claimed on

³⁰ Mr. G. Macdonald informs me that the engraving is not absolutely correct, the annulets between the words on the reverse being omitted, and those on the obverse represented as pellets.

his coins by an English monarch, though that title appears on King Edward's great seal some few years earlier. With regard to the types, it may be observed that for many centuries it was the usual custom to represent a king on his seal, and occasionally on his coins, as seated in state upon his throne. The gold penny of Henry III and the silver penny of Edward the Confessor afford examples. In the case of the florin, Edward is seated beneath a Gothic canopy in the same manner as he appears on what is called his sixth great seal,³¹ which was in use from 1340 to 1372. Moreover, at his feet are two lions sejant guardant, with their tails recurved over their backs, in much the same posture as the "leopard" on the half-florin, while the helmet, cap of maintenance, mantling and crest of the horseman on the reverse of the seal are almost identical with the device of the quarter-florin No. 2, though turned to the right instead of the left. The housings of the horse are charged with the royal arms in the same manner as the mantle or banner of the "leopard" on the half-florin. The seal is reproduced on Plate X., as it is so remarkably illustrative of the coins.

The throne was probably arranged in accordance with the description given of that of Solomon,³² with "stays on each side of the sitting place and two lions standing by the stays." It must, however, be confessed that on the florin the two leopards occupy a most subordinate place, and that no artist called upon to produce a design for "a coin of two leopards" would have hit upon the obverse type of the florin. Still it in some manner fulfils the requirements of the proclamation.

³¹ *B. M. Cat. of Seals*, i., 186, Pl. II. 3. Allan Wyon, *Great Seals of England*, No. 61, Pl. X. 1.

³² 2 Chron. ix. v. 18.

It must be confessed that there is great similarity between both the obverse and reverse of the florins and those of the French coins of Philip VI de Valois of France of much the same period. The reverse is almost identical with that of the *ange d'or* of Philip, but has lions in the spandrels of the quatrefoil instead of crowns. It is also much like that of the *Ecu* of Edward III.

The face of the King seems to be a portrait; at all events it resembles in a remarkable degree the face upon the Great Seal.

The type of the half-florin is both artistic and effective, and is worthy of the most flourishing period of Gothic art. The manner in which the device is made to occupy the whole of the field is admirable. The type never reappeared in the English series; and that of the *Leopard*, subsequently struck for Edward's French dominions, was a lion statant.

There is, however, a Wardrobe counter of Edward III on the obverse of which this type appears. It is published from a specimen found in France, and a figure given of it in Rouyer and Hucher's *Histoire du Jeton au Moyen Age*.³³ The description of it is as follows:—

(Obv.) + — LÆ — OP — ꝀRD — SVÆ. (*Léopard Sue*).
Léopard haletant et accroupi, la tête ceinte d'une couronne à trois fleurons, et le col entouré d'une bannière flottante au semé de France écartelé d'Angleterre. Au centre du flacon un point profondément gravé en creux.

(Rev.) + — 6ꝀRDÆ — ROBÆ — RÆGIS. Croix à triple nervure, fleuronnée, évidée au centre et aux ex-

³³ 1858, p. 173, Pl. XVI. 139; *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i., p. 8; *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. xv., 1895, p. 168.

trémités en rosaces à quatre lobes. À l'avers et au revers les mots sont séparés et même coupés par de petites couronnes ouvertes.

Ce jeton a toutes les apparences d'un pied-fort. Son épaisseur est de 2 millimètres largement mesurés et son poids est de 10 grammes 75 centigrammes (= 166 grs.).

The cross on the reverse is not precisely that of any one of the florin series, but resembles that on the half-florin with foliations like those on the quarter-florin. There are two saltires between the words as on the reverse of the florin, and not annulets. The crowns in the legend are the same as those on the florin at the ends of the cross. The annexed wood-cut is taken from a cast of an original counter in the *Cabinet des médailles* at Paris, kindly procured for me by Mr. Francis Whelan.



Wardrobe Counter of Edward III.—Æ.

The legend "Léopard sue"—I am the Leopard—might almost be a repetition of words that fell from the mouth of Edward III or of the Black Prince.

It is not surprising to find the following lines in the epitaph of Edward III in Westminster Abbey³⁴ :—

"Tertius Edwardus regni complens Jubileum,
Invictus pardus, bellis pollens Machabeum."

³⁴ Sandford's *Geneal. History*, p. 175. See also *Versus Rhythmici de H. V^{to}*. 1858, p. 72.

Which have been thus translated by Sandford—

“The III. *Edward* : the Death of whom may rue
All *English* Men, for he by Knighthood due,
Was *libarde* invict, and by Feat Martial,
To worthy *Macabe* in Vertue, peregal.”

Even in the days of Henry V, Richard II receives the title of Leopardus—

“Inde sepultura Regis translata Ricardi,
Solemni curâ per Regem fit Leopardi.”

The type of the helmet on the quarter-florin thoroughly fulfils the requirements of the proclamation. Its resemblance to the king's head-gear in the equestrian representation of him on the reverse of his great seal has already been mentioned ; but the fact that it is almost identical in character with the helmet, cap, and crest of the Black Prince still preserved on his monument in Canterbury Cathedral³⁵ is more striking still. The slight variation in the mantling on Nos. 9 and 10 shows how far from servile and monotonous copying was the art of die-sinking in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Although the type does not seem to have been repeated on any mediæval coins, English or foreign, the device on the “lion” shillings and sixpences of George IV may be regarded as a direct descendant from it, though to my mind “the old is better.”

Mr. Allan Wyon,³⁶ in speaking of the Third Great Seal of Presence of Edward III, which was in use from the 21st February to the 20th June, 1340, observes : “This seal is remarkable as being the first in which an English king used the title of ‘*Rex Franciæ*,’ and in which the arms of France are quartered with those of England. It is also the first seal in which the lion statant guardant

³⁵ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vii., Pl. VII.

³⁶ *The Great Seals of England*, 1887, p. 32.

with extended tail, appears as the Royal crest of England, and it is also the first which has a diapered field."

These remarks are almost equally applicable to the florin coinage, for the field semé of fleurs-de-lis may be regarded as the equivalent of a field diapered with lozenges each containing a fleur-de-lis. Taken altogether the types of this coinage testify to a new departure in medallie art, and it would be difficult to point out an exactly parallel case in the English or any other series, though the French and other Continental gold coins of the period are in many cases of equally delicate workmanship.

The legends on the reverses of the three coins now demand a few words, especially as they in their turn afford the earliest instances of the adoption of scriptural texts upon English coins; the groats with POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM not having been struck until 1351.

The legend on the reverse of the florin is precisely the same as that on its successor the noble, and on several other denominations of English gold coins, and has formed a subject for discussion from the days of Camden until the present time. Among the most recent enunciations upon it, I may cite those of the Rev. John Baron, D.D., F.S.A.,³⁷ to which our attention was called by Mr. Warwick Wroth³⁸ a few years ago, and of the late regretted Mr. A. E. Packe³⁹ in his excellent paper on "The Types and Legends of the Mediæval and later Coins of England."

The text on the florin is based upon the Gospel of St.

³⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., 1882, p. 140.

³⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. ii., 1882, p. 298.

³⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. xii., 1892, p. 257.

Luke, chap. iv., v. 30, which in the Vulgate reads “Ipse autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.” The first word is changed into Jesus in its abbreviated form Ihꝰ— in which the ꝰ seems to be a survival of the Greek C and the second word is omitted, though in most of the later coins bearing this legend, it is re-introduced.

As to the meaning of the text when placed upon a coin there has been no little controversy. Although ⁴⁰ Camden’s account of the matter is so well known, I venture here to repeat a summary of it. His story is that the “faire and fine gold” of the florin and noble “was as our Alchimists do affirme (as an unwritten verity) made by proiection or multiplication Alchimicall of Raymond Lully in the Tower of London, who wold proue it as Alchmically beside the tradition of the Rabies in that faculty, by the inscription,” on the reverse. “Which they profoundly expound, as Iesus passed invisible & in most secret manner by the middest of Pharises, so that gold was made by invisible and secret arte amidst the ignorant. But other say that text was the only Amulet used in that credulous warfaring age to escape daungers in battailes.” There is a third view that the text bears some reference to the battle of Sluys in 1340.

With regard to the alchemical view, the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks ⁴¹ has been cited as affirming that this text, “Jesus autem, &c.,” is certainly found in treatises of alchemy, and Mr. Packe ⁴² says that the alchemical meaning of the famous *Jesus transiens*, &c., is surely fairly established now, after the papers by Dr. Baron and Mr. Wroth.

⁴⁰ *Remaines concerning Britaine*, ed. 1614, p. 206.

⁴¹ *Archæol.*, vol. xlvii., p. 142.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

Granting, however, that the text was used by the alchemists, it by no means follows that they produced any of the gold from which the florins and nobles were struck, and nothing is more improbable than that their secret charm should be placed as a motto on the public currency. The passages cited from Ashmole,⁴³ though giving an account of the relations that subsisted between Edward III and Lully when he was brought over to England, bring us no nearer to the production of any gold for either florins or nobles. Lully,⁴⁴ indeed, died more than twenty years before Edward coined any gold.

On the whole it seems to me, that though we may accept as a fact that alchemists may have made occasional use of the text under discussion, its connection with even an imaginary production of the gold for these coins is in the highest degree problematical. The occurrence of the text on finger rings and on the front of a druggist's shop at Toledo, points more in the direction of its being regarded as being in the nature of a charm or an amulet than as bearing on alchemy.

I need hardly say that I do not agree with Mr. Packe⁴⁵ in his remark, "I am glad that we have got rid of Sir John Maundeville as an authority for any other interpretation" than the alchemical. On the contrary I hold that the text was in the fourteenth century frequently used as a charm against thieves or when in peril, though whether it was placed on the coins in consequence of its virtue as an amulet is extremely doubtful. The often-quoted passage from Sir John Maundeville's Travels seems to afford sufficient evidence as to its use as a charm. He

⁴³ *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum*, pp. 442, 467.

⁴⁴ Ruding, vol. i., p. 220, note 2.

Num. Chron., 3rd ser., vol. xii., p. 259.

says,⁴⁶ "And an half Myle fro Nazarethe is the Lepe of oure Lord: for the Jewes ladden him upon an highe Roche; for to make him lepe down, and have slayn him: but Jesu passed amonges hem, and lepte upon another Roche; and zit ben the Steppes of his Feet sene in the Roche, where he allyghte. And therfore seyn men, whan thei dreden hem of Thefes, on ony Weye, or of Enemyes; *Jesus autem transiens per medium illom ibat*; that is to seyne, *Jesus forsothe passynge be the myddes of hem, he wente*; in tokene and mynde, that oure Lord passed thorghe out of the Jewes Crueltee, and scaped safly fro hem; so surely mowe men passen the perile of Thefes." Maundeville left England in 1322 and did not return until 1356, so that in all probability this passage was written without any acquaintance with the fact that the text quoted was inscribed on either English florins or nobles.

It may be that the fact that it was used as a charm led to its quotation by King Edward III on a notable occasion in the manner recorded by a little-known chronicler, cited, as already mentioned, by the Rev. Dr. Baron in his account of a hoard of gold nobles found at Bremeridge Farm, near Westbury, Wilts. The chronicle of the Abbey of Meaux, in Yorkshire, written by Thomas de Burton,⁴⁷ who was elected Abbot in 1396, gives an account of the great naval victory of the English over the French which was gained off Sluys, near Flushing, in Holland, on the 24th of June, 1330.

In describing the battle, de Burton says that at first the French ships were chained together lest they should

⁴⁶ *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Kt.*, ed. 1839, p. 113.

⁴⁷ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsā*, Rolls ed., 1868, vol. iii., p. 45.

possibly be separated the one from the other. But before the first onslaught, as King Edward and his fleet feigned to flee, they broke the chains and pursued him in a disorderly manner. Which when Edward saw, he marshalled his ships in order and, passing through the midst of them, obtained the victory as already related. On which account King Edward himself caused the impression of his gold money to be changed. Therefore on his noble, which is worth half a mark, he ordained that there should be impressed, on the one side, a ship having in it the King armed, and around it the King's name written, and on the other side a cross with this circumscription: "*Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.*" The Latin text is given below.⁴⁸

The chronicler does not seem to have been aware of the existence of such coins as the florin and its parts, and certainly without the ship on the obverse, the connection between the legend on the reverse and the victory of Sluys is by no means apparent. It seems to me doubtful whether the type of the King on his throne, with the two leopards in so subordinate a position, was the design originally contemplated for the coin of two leopards, and possibly some design, more clearly indica-

⁴⁸ "*Ipsae autem naves Francorum prius catenatae erant, ne ab invicem possent separari. Sed ante primum congressum, Edwardo rege cum sua classe fugam simulante, catenas suas rumpebant et regem Edwardum inordinate sequebantur. Quod videns Edwardus rex, ordine disposito per medium ipsorum transibat, et de illis victoriam ut praedicatur adeptus est. Quapropter ipse rex Edwardus impressionem monetae suae aureae fecerat commutari. Unde in suo nobili, dimidiam marcā valente, ex una ejus parte navem cum rege armato in eo contento, regis nomine circumscripto, et ex altera ejus parte crucem imprimi constituens, hanc circumscriptionem adhibuit *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.*"*

tive of the victory over France, may at first have been in view.

Mr. Packe⁴⁹ was of opinion that "on the noble the legend suggested the type, instead of the type the legend." Anyhow, the type and legends of the noble justify the old rhymes.⁵⁰

"For foure things our noble sheweth to me,
King, ship, and sword and power of the sea."

The origin and intention of the legend on the reverse of the half-florin, "Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me," are not at once obvious, but I think that Mr. Packe's ingenious suggestion on the subject is well worthy of consideration. The type of the obverse of this piece, the real equivalent of the Continental florin, is a leopard. It is indeed the coin of one leopard. Now there is a passage in Hosea which Mr. Packe thinks shows the train of thought pursued in connecting the legend of the reverse with the type of the obverse. "In that passage (chap. xiii. v. 7, 11) we read in the Vulgate: '*Ero eis sicut pardus in viâ Assyriorum. Dabo tibi regem in furore meo et auferam in indignatione mea.*' 'God,' says the prophet, 'lies in wait for his rebellious people like a leopard in the way. He gives them a king in his anger, and takes him away in his wrath.' The legend on the coin is the prayer of the king against such a calamity, freely rendered into the very similar but more familiar text of the penitential psalm." Though Mr. Packe offers this explanation, he confesses that he is not satisfied with it, and says that he will be glad if some one can suggest a better. So shall I.

With the interpretation of the legend on the helm or

⁴⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. xii., p. 260.

⁵⁰ Selden, *Mare clausum*, lib. ii., cap. xxv., quoted by Ruding.

quarter-florin, I agree with Mr. Packe there is less difficulty. It may refer to the central cross, but more probably it is to be read in connection with the helmet and crest on the obverse. Taken together with the context in Psalm cxii. v. 9, it is singularly appropriate for a coin. "He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor; and his righteousness remaineth for ever, his horn shall be exalted with honour." "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in seculum seculi, cornu ejus exaltabitur in gloria."

It remains to say a few words with regard to the gold of which the florin and its parts were composed, the extent of the coinage, and the reason why they were so soon called in.

The gold was as nearly as practicable pure, being twenty-three carats three grains and a-half fine gold, and only half a grain alloy. In other words, the pure gold in the coins was to the whole weight in the proportion of 191 to 192.

From the returns published in the *English Historical Review*,⁵¹ founded upon the Pipe Rolls, it appears that from the 24th January, 1344, to the 10th of July following when the coinage of the noble was authorised, there were coined in pounds Tower of 5,400 grains £2,129 18s. 8d., of the value, at the rate of £15 to the pound, of about £32,000 in the currency of those days, for it will be remembered that fifty florins of the value of six shillings each were to be struck from the pound Tower of fine gold.

When the first coinage of nobles took place later in the same year, they were coined at the rate of £13 3s. 4d.

⁵¹ Vol. xii., p. 754.

only to the pound Tower, but coins to the then value of £21,500 were struck. In 1346 a lighter issue of nobles took place, as they were coined at the rate of £14 to the pound Tower. Of this kind, coins were struck to the value of £132,700. In 1357 a second reduction took place, and nobles were coined at the rate of £15 to the pound Tower, the same rate as the old florins.

It is evident from these facts that about the middle of the fourteenth century the relative values of gold and silver were in a very fluctuating condition. In Henry III's time an issue of gold at the rate of 10 to 1 had been tried, and failed. In 1344 the rate of 15 to 1 was found too high, and a sudden revulsion caused a coinage at the rate of $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 to be issued; to be quickly followed by one at 14 to 1, and in a few years by one of 15 to 1, which for a long period remained unaltered.

The rarity of the early nobles and of the florin coinage of Edward III is to be accounted for by this misapprehension of the relative values of gold and silver. The melting value of the nobles was greater than their current value, and they therefore disappeared. The florins were appraised too high, and therefore could not get into circulation, but were returned to the Treasury. The old chronicler⁵² was right who wrote, under 1343 or 1344: "Circa idem tempus ordinavit rex primo florenos aureos pro monetâ ad currendum in Anglia; quod parum duravit, quia parum profuit."

JOHN EVANS.

⁵² *Adami Murimuthensis Chron.*, E. H. S., cited in *Arch.*, vol. xlvii., p. 142; 1846, p. 159.

XIV.

THE COINAGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.¹

(See Plate XII.)

TWENTY years ago the country now known as the Transvaal, or, to give it its official name, the South African Republic, was hardly known beyond the small circle of those whom politics or trade brought into direct contact with it. It was almost exclusively inhabited by the Boers. This word means "farmers," and is applied to the Dutch rural population of South Africa in general, but in a more special political sense to the Dutch of the Transvaal and of the neighbouring Orange Free State. The Boers occupy themselves mainly with pastoral and agricultural pursuits, to which they add some hunting. At that time the country had already existed a quarter of a century, under its own rather patriarchal, and certainly very primitive, form of government; and the inhabitants claimed complete national independence for it. The few travellers, scientific and otherwise, who had, up to twenty-five or thirty years ago, visited the Transvaal, had been almost unanimous in their belief that the country was rich in minerals, but practical mining engineers were of opinion that the mines would prove difficult and expensive

¹ This account of the Transvaal coinage was communicated anonymously to the Society in 1894, but for obvious reasons it was deemed expedient to postpone its publication.

to work—an opinion which is being realised more and more every day, as we are becoming more familiar with the condition of things.

However, small quantities of alluvial gold were found, mostly in the eastern part of the Transvaal, in the district of Lydenburg, where, during the Presidency of Mr. Burgers, the mining camp of Pilgrims' Rest became established as a mining community and got fairly under weigh.

Mr. Thomas Burgers, the then President of the Transvaal, had, till a few years before 1874, been a clergyman in Cape Colony; and after his election he had endeavoured to infuse a spirit of enlightenment amongst the rural farmers, who had, till his election, been under the simple but efficient guidance of presidents from their own ranks—men with chiefly religious and military training. Now, however, Mr. Burgers thought that the production of gold in the country afforded an opportunity to impress the Volksraad (their Parliament) with the importance of its wealth and capabilities, by having some of it coined into real metallic money—an article very much in demand there at that time. He therefore persuaded the Volksraad to allow him to have some of the rough gold of the Transvaal coined into money. It must be admitted that consideration for the country's economical condition was not the only motive of the President, but his vanity was flattered by the prospect of having his likeness on the coins circulating amongst the people. In 1874, 256·275 ounces of rough alluvial gold were sent to Mr. J. J. Pratt, the then Consul-General in London for the Transvaal, from whom Messrs. Johnson, Matthey and Co. received it and in turn forwarded it to Messrs. Ralph Heaton and Sons, at Birmingham, to be coined into money. This last firm coined 215·03 ounces of it into money of the

value of eight hundred and thirty-seven pounds (£837), leaving 40·3 ounces or £157 uncoined, which was sent back to Mr. Pratt. The coin thus struck was called the "State's Pound," and at the next session of the Volksraad President Burgers handed, with much ceremony, a specimen to each of the members [Pl. XII. 1]. The balance found its way to various favoured creditors of the government. The recipients of these coins, however, did not put them into circulation, but hoarded them with great tenacity (and do so still) as curios; a thing easy enough, as, soon after, British coin became sufficiently plentiful for all purposes. They *are* real curios, for when the account was examined it was found that each pound cost 26s. to produce. At present it is very difficult to obtain one of these coins. The price last heard of was £25 offered and refused! There is yet another Transvaal coinage, which, though of a later date, is much scarcer—because it was searched for with a view to its being put out of circulation on account of a mistake in the device—and its history is even more curious than that of the coinage of Mr. Burgers.

When people found that it cost 26s. to coin a pound worth 20s.—and the coins of Mr. Burgers were current for 20s., being equal in weight and proportion of pure gold and alloy to British sovereigns—there was no very great desire to repeat the experiment. The country continued to yield gold, with an occasional interruption, but not on anything like the present scale. Yet the aspiration after a national mint only slumbered but was not quite dead. So when, in 1886, and the next couple of years, the gold mines near Barberton—the cradle of the mining industry in the Transvaal—began to yield their thousands of ounces of gold per month—now eclipsed

by the tens of thousands from the Rand—this aspiration revived. It is not to be wondered at that a people, living so isolated and having had nothing to do with matters affecting coinage and similar conditions, should hold very crude notions in regard to them. For instance a then leading newspaper seriously advocated the necessity of making the Transvaal coinage of higher caratage—that is, to hold a higher proportion of gold to alloy—than the British sovereign; lest the enemies of the country should melt down the Transvaal golden coins and so make money scarce—a calamity very much dreaded all over South Africa.

All that time the discoveries of gold reefs had attracted a strong inrush of immigrants into the Transvaal. The newcomers were from various parts of the world, but most of them were more anglicised or held enlightened views, and good advice came from them. They explained that respectable governments which, nowadays, coin bullion for circulation within their territories, purify and coin the bullion gratis for such as bring it for that purpose; that a mint is therefore an expensive affair, more especially for a small and poor country; and was quite unnecessary for the Transvaal, because all the coin it wanted came ready coined into it. For a time it appeared as if these more moderate counsels would prevail. But with the speculative spirit engendered by gold-mining, speculation entered into every form of life; and there was soon no want of persons ready and willing, even eagerly competing, for the questionable honour of cultivating the national vanity—for it must be owned that native South Africans *are* vain.

President Burgers was no more, and in his place there was and is now a new President, Mr. Kruger—a man,

like the earlier Presidents, from the ranks of the people. He, too, could not resist the flattering prospect of having his likeness on the coins of—he likes it to be called—*his* realm. So it was decided to have a mint. The difficulty of making it pay was overcome by granting a concession, or rather a monopoly with very strong privileges, for a national or government bank. The profits to be made or expected to be made, were to be applied to defray the cost of the minting—so it would seem at first sight; but the National Bank belongs to shareholders under limited liability, and the Government itself is a large shareholder; but of this later on. At any rate the Transvaal Mint is carried on by the National Bank of the South African Republic, according to Law 14 of 1891, published and being in operation from 2nd September, 1891. It was very easy to start the National Bank, which did not wait long to begin operations after its capital was subscribed and paid up; but it was not so easy to begin the Mint. It was not till 1893 that they could begin to coin a considerable quantity of imported silver and a very small quantity of gold. At the present low bullion price of silver it pays to coin it; whilst the bar gold from the batteries, but more especially from the cyanide works near Johannesburg in the Transvaal, requires much skilled labour and elaborate chemical processes to refine it. Both are expensive in the Transvaal. Gold obtained from the cyanide works often contains zinc, which is used to precipitate it from its cyanide solution, but which injures the quality and decreases the purity of the gold.

President Kruger, whose term of office expired in May, 1893, did not like to wait till the Transvaal Mint was in working order. He wanted to make sure that his likeness appeared on the national coins, as there were unmistake-

able signs that this time his re-election was not quite so sure or easy as the previous time ; and if he were not re-elected someone-else's likeness would appear on the coins. Some gold was therefore dispatched in 1892 to Europe to be coined. This time, however, it was not sent to England, although there were no complaints about the preceding transaction with Messrs. Ralph Heaton and Sons. There were then, and still are, different people at the helm of affairs in the Transvaal, whose sympathies are not with England. The gold, in this instance, was sent to Germany (Berlin) for coinage according to instructions. In carrying out these instructions a mistake was made in Germany, which gave a lot of trouble to President Kruger and his friends, and is still a sore remembrance to the former. The coins were to have on one side Mr. Kruger's likeness, and this was rendered well enough. On the reverse they were to have the coat-of-arms of the Transvaal. Now if a clear Transvaal postage stamp, with strong colouring, is examined, it will be seen that the central figure in it is a van-like waggon, with a single pole or single shaft in front, called the "Disselboom," as if two horses were intended to pull it, one on each side of the pole. It was here that the German die-sinker made a mistake. For, instead of the single pole, he had depicted two poles or a double shaft, as if one horse was intended to be harnessed between the two poles or double shaft [see **Pl. XII. 2, 4**]. The coins issued with this mistake were the Pound and Half Pound in gold, and Five Shillings in Silver.

It is not known what the cost per £ was for coining this money ; but as soon as it had arrived from Germany, and began to circulate amongst the people, there arose, amongst the plain-minded folks, who form the bulk of the electors, a wave of indignation ; for the coins were

critically examined, and it was not long before the blunder in the arms was discovered. Preparations were in progress for the election of a President, and on that account alone feeling ran quite high enough already amongst the electors. But the insult to their coat-of-arms, to themselves, as they considered it, was the climax. And that had been done by their President, who now sought his re-election from them! "We will show him what we think of him!" was the general cry. "Why can he have his own insignificant features so correctly reproduced on our coins, whilst the only thing belonging to us that can come on them—our coat-of-arms—must be insulted by putting that 'street thing' of Germany on it? It is not our own bullock-waggon, which our fathers prized, and honoured as we still do. We never had a waggon like that amongst us. Away with it and Kruger!" Such were in substance the feelings of the Boers, when these coins made their appearance amongst them. For people at a distance, and not acquainted with the peculiar idiosyncracies of a population a couple of centuries behind us, it is not easy to enter fully into or sympathise with opinions such as these. But President Kruger being one of the people himself, could fully understand and appreciate this outburst, especially as his own *amour propre* was touched by the circumstance that the engraver of the coin dies, *Otto Schulz*, had put his initials O. S. on the truncation of the bust, and those letters in Dutch signify an "ox," a term which the populace in their anger soon applied to their President. Mr. Kruger knew also that the feeling of the people jeopardized his re-election, and he and his adherents at once took steps to nullify if possible, or otherwise to minimise, the effect of the blunder. Luckily for him economy had been studied; a large

amount of bullion had not been sent off for coinage, and all the coins had not been issued yet. So such of them as were not yet issued were consigned to the melting pot, and every effort was made, by those who would stand or fall with his re-election or non-election, to recover as many coins as possible. In this they succeeded well enough, and all such went to the melting pot. The poorer people had become frightened at the outcry made against the Kruger pounds, and were glad enough to accept a British equivalent for them. Only the richer people, who could afford to lay by a pound or so as curios, did not part with them; and it is from this class of people that an occasional one of these remarkable coins is likely to be obtainable, if at all. What price would have to be paid for one of them it is difficult to say, nor is this the place for discussing such a matter.

But to return to the Transvaal coinage itself:—The golden coins are of one pound sterling and a half-pound sterling. The former is to weigh 7·98805 grammes, the latter 3·99402 grammes, the deviation allowed either way being 0·01296 gramme or 0·2 grain, and 0·00648 gramme or 0·1 grain respectively. A coin of a pound sterling is to contain 7·3244 grammes pure gold, and a half-pound 3·6622 grammes. In the gold coins a deviation in the fineness or quantity of pure gold is allowed of 0·002 (two-thousandths) either way. If the weight of a Transvaal pound is compared with the amount of pure gold the coin is to contain, as given above, it will be seen that it contains more gold than $\frac{1}{12}$ ths, or 22 carats. In other words, the Transvaal pound is to contain more gold than the British sovereign; which means, again, that if you bring your gold to the Transvaal Mint to be coined for you into pounds, you must put something like six-

penceworth of gold more into your pound than you would have to do at the British Mint. That is one loss of say, 6d. In addition, they charge for minting at a rate not higher than 3 *per centum*, whilst at the British Mint they do everything gratis. That is another loss of 6d. or 7d., or, together with the 6d. more in gold already mentioned, a total loss of say, one shilling per pound. It can easily be understood that people are not likely to rush with their gold to a mint like this. Nor does the mint desire it apparently, as any gold less than 22 carat fine can be refused by them; or, when they have plenty of work, they can postpone minting even such gold, and stop minting altogether, either for the Government or private persons, when they (the mint) are of opinion that the issue of golden coin in the Republic (that is, the Transvaal) is excessive. The Government *may* (the law does not say that it *must*) order a test of the coins issued by the mint, whenever they (the Government) shall think fit to do so. So that there is practically no guarantee that they shall not exceed the deviation in fineness, against or to the loss of anyone bringing gold to mint. If golden coins have, by legitimate circulation, decreased in value to more than 0·005, they are to be withdrawn from circulation; but it is entirely left to the decision of the mint whether a golden coin is legitimately deteriorated or not. If not so depreciated, the client has to wait till the mint can apportion the correct value, which will be then paid out to him.

As to silver coins:—A 5s. piece is to weigh 28·2759 grammes; other silver coins in proportion. Their fineness is to be $\frac{37}{46}$ fine silver and $\frac{3}{46}$ alloy. The deviation in fineness is an allowance of 0·11781 gramme either way for a 5s. piece; and to other coins in proportion down to a 1s. piece. For silver coins of lower value than a 1s.,

it is, for a 6d. piece, 0·02 gramme, for a 3d. piece, 0·003 parts. The deviation allowed for all silver coins is 0·003 parts.

Bronze coins are to be struck of the following weights :—A penny of 9·44984 grammes and a halfpenny of 5·66990 grammes.² They are to be made of copper, tin, and zinc ; but the proportion of these metals is not disclosed. Perhaps they can make some profit out of them, as they do out of silver coining.

The law provides that the mint is to be carried on by the National Bank of the South African Republic. This remarkable institution thus appears to have the control of the mint. In the Transvaal, however, everything connected with matters like this is in such a nebulous condition, that one had better not be quite sure of anything. The mint itself has, as yet, not been much before the public ; but the National Bank, having made some bad investments, has passed many a bad half-hour in the Volksraad and with the local press, in explaining, or trying to explain, its status, its accounts, and more especially its auditing. This bank has a large note circulation, for, owing to its privileges, its notes with the likeness of the re-elected President Krüger are legal tender, whilst those of other perfectly solvent banks are not. Of this it makes good use. In the neighbouring states and colonies the public accept Transvaal coins, but the Courts have ruled them out, so that they are not legal tender there.

[ED.—Since 1892 the mint at Pretoria has been in active operation, as is shown by the following table, which was supplied by H.M. Colonial Office to the British Museum ; but at present the amount coined in each metal year by year has not been stated :—

² The halfpenny was not issued.

TABLE OF COINS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

Denominations.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1900.	Remarks.
Pound (double shaft) [Pl. XII. 2]	×								Minted in Berlin.
Do.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	" Pretoria.
Half Pound (double shaft) [Pl. XII. 4]	×								" Berlin.
Do.	×	×	×	×	×	×			" Pretoria.
Crown (double shaft)	×								" Berlin.
Do. [Pl. XII. 5]	×								" Pretoria.
Half Crown [Pl. XII. 6]	×	×	×	×	×	×			" "
Florin [Pl. XII. 7]	×	×	×	×	×	×			" "
Shilling [Pl. XII. 8]	×	×	×	×	×	×			" "
Sixpence [Pl. XII. 9]	×	×	×	×	×	×			" "
Threepence [Pl. XII. 10]	×	×	×	×	×	×			" "
Penny [Pl. XII. 11]	×	×	×				×		" "

From this table it will be seen that the only coins minted at Berlin, where the mistake in the arms was made, were the pound, half-pound, and crown; and also that the blunder was detected so quickly as to allow another issue of the corrected type being made in the same year at Pretoria, which from that date became the sole mint of the Republic. Crowns are of one year only, viz., 1892. In 1898 the coinage had almost ceased, and the only denominations issued were the pound and the penny; and in 1899 there was no coinage but a few specimens of the pound of the previous year (only 102 in all) were impressed with the figures "99." [See Pl. XII. 3.] In the present year pounds only have been struck, and by a recent order the Transvaal coinage is being recalled at its face value. It is therefore probable that within a few months all the late coinage will have passed out of circulation. In consequence this has been considered a favourable opportunity to place on record the above account.]

MISCELLANEA.

AN UNPUBLISHED SILVER COIN OF VERICA.—The small coin of which the following is an illustration with a description, makes another addition to the numerous and interesting series of the money of the British chief, Verica.



Obv.—Laureate head to right; before VERIC .

Rev.—A torque, within which the letters C.F. (Commii Filius); around, border of dots.

$\mathcal{R}$. 3. Wt. 3·4 grs.

This small but interesting coin was found near Challow, in Berks, and is now in the possession of Mr. J. N. Barnes, of Lambourne. The reverse type is quite new, and the obverse bears a head differing entirely from any others which occur on the hitherto published coins of Verica. A glance at the illustration of the coins of Verica given by Sir John Evans in his *Coins of the Ancient Britons* shows us that this chief often adopted the types of Roman coins for his money. Thus we have the galloping horseman, the shield which is found on Republican as well as on coins of Augustus, the double cornucopiae, a type of Marc Antony, the capricorn, the symbol of Augustus, and several others.

The representation of a torque is, however, a new type for Verica; but a precisely similar ornament is found on the Republican coins of L. Manlius Torquatus, who, as quaestor, struck his money about B.C. 98. In this case, however, it forms an adjunct to the head of Roma, which it encircles. The torque, however, was not an uncommon ornament on British coins, and as it was also one of daily use, we need not go so far back as a century B.C. to seek a reason for its finding a place as a type of the above coin. The head on the obverse appears to be almost

an absolute copy of a coin of Tiberius. The likeness to that emperor is so strong that failing the inscription one might have, at first sight, claimed the piece for Tiberius and not for Verica. This last point may offer some clue to the date of this chief. As he copied the coins of Marc Antony and Augustus, he must have lived contemporary or subsequent to the latter. This representation of the head of Tiberius brings us down to a later date, and is in favour of Akerman's view (*Num. Chron.*, xi. p. 155), that the Verica of the coins is the same individual as the Bericus of Dion Cassius (*Hist. Rom.*, lib. ix. 956), who, being a fugitive on account of sedition, instigated Claudius to send the expedition to Britain under Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43. Sir John Evans (*Anc. Brit. Coins*, p. 171), however, from the evidence of finds, is of opinion that the coins of Verica are decidedly more ancient than those of Cunobeline, who, as it appears from Dion Cassius, died before the expedition of Claudius. The smallness of the coin and its light weight offer nothing new, as pieces of this denomination are not at all uncommon in the reign of Verica. On this point Sir John Evans remarks that, "looking at the size of the coins, which shows that very small denominations of money must have been requisite for the purposes of trade, and that there must, in consequence, have been a considerable degree of civilisation in the part of the country where such a currency existed, I think that most of these pieces must be assigned to the latter portion of the reign of Verica."

H. A. GRUEBER.

SOME UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF SAXON COINS.—In looking through my Saxon coins recently I found that the following present some points of interest, as they differ, more or less, from any given either in Ruding, Hawkins, Hildebrand, the British Museum Catalogue, or the Montagu Collection.

Stycae.

EANRED.

1. *Obv.*— around a cross.

Rev.— around five dots in form of a cross.

Probably this moneyer's name is a blundered form of EAR-DVLF. The three crosses on this coin are somewhat peculiar, being intermediate between a cross pattée and a cross-crosslet.

AETHELRED II.

2. *Obv.*—**ÆTHELRED**+ Centre indistinct.
Rev.—**INEOW**+ around a cross pommée.

A variety of the well-known MONNE.

Pennies.

BURGRED.

3. *Obv.*—**BURGRED REX**. Bust r., diademed.
Rev.—**VULFRED MONET** in three lines; upper and lower portions enclosed in unbroken lunettes.
 B. M. Cat., type A.

Possibly a new moneyer. There is, however, in the British Museum Collection a coin (No. 393) of the same type, reading **VULFERD**, which is attributed to **VULFEARD**, so that it may be a question whether **VULFRED** is a distinct moneyer or not.

AELFRED.

4. *Obv.*—**+ÆELBRED REX**. Bust r., diademed.
Rev.—**EDEL MVND MONET** in three lines, upper and lower portions enclosed in unbroken lunettes.
 B. M. Cat., type I.

The name **EDEL MVND** appears in the British Museum Catalogue as one of Aelfred's moneyers, but there is no specimen in that collection, nor was there one in the Montagu Cabinet. It seems therefore desirable to place this coin on record, especially as neither Ruding nor Hawkins give any such name in their lists.

EADRED.

5. *Obv.*—**EADRED RE+O** around a small cross pattée.
Rev.—**ERIZTINWE** in two lines divided by three crosses, triangle of dots above and below.
 B. M. Cat., type I.

I think this is the first coin of Eadred which has been published of the York mint.

6. *Obv.*—+EADRED RE+ around a small cross pattée.

Rev.—VVILNII H_O in two lines, divided by a cross between two annulets; rosette of dots above and below.

B. M. Cat., type I.

The name VVILSII appears on the coins both of Eadwig and Eadgar, but is new so far as Eadred is concerned.

EADGAR.

7. *Obv.*—+EADGAREI around a small cross pattée.

Rev.—VVERZTAII in two lines, divided by a cross between two annulets; rosette of dots above and below.

B. M. Cat., type I., var. d.

This coin is the converse of No. 6, VVERSTAN being well known as one of Eadred's moneyers, but not hitherto recorded for Eadgar.

8. *Obv.*—EADGAR REX; in field, M. Small cross pattée, legend between two circles.

Rev.—ELFREDES MÖN in two lines, divided by three crosses; rosette of dots above and below.

B. M. Cat., type I., var. c.

The only coins of this moneyer in the British Museum Collection belong to type var. d, and lack the M in the field on the obverse, which, though not uncommon in var. c, does not seem to occur in the other classes. This coin therefore forms a link between vars. c and d.

AETHELRED II.

9. *Obv.*—+ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR. Bust to left, diademed; in front, sceptre.

Rev.—+ÆDELPERD MÖ PELI. Short cross voided, CRV+ in the angles.

B. M. Cat., type III., var. a.

This well-known moneyer is recorded by Hildebrand as striking this type at Hertford and Sudbury, the British Museum has one struck in London, and Wallingford can now be added to the list.

CNUT.

10. *Obv.*—+ENVY REX ANGLLO. Bust to left, crowned, within nearly circular quatrefoil.

Rev.—+FREDP·INE ⊙ LVN. On a quatrefoil, the angles much arched, long cross voided, each limb terminating in three crescents.

B. M. Cat., type VIII.

Hildebrand (Nos. 2343—2352) gives FREDI as a London moneyer of Cnut, and the British Museum Catalogue gives FREDI, suggesting that perhaps the full reading of the name may have been FREDIL. There can, I think, now be no doubt that it was the same name as that of the moneyer FREDPINE, who worked at Steyning. I have seen three coins like the above, and all appear to have come from the same dies.

HARTHACNUT.

11. *Obv.*—+HARÐENT. Bust to left, diademed. In front, sceptre held in left hand. Inscription divided by bust.

Rev.—+PVLFPINE ON HVN. Over short cross voided, a quadrilateral ornament with pellet at each angle.

B. M. Cat., type II.

Lot 108 in the Montagu Sale, second part, was a similar coin reading PVLFPIN ON HVNTA, leaving it in doubt whether the full name should be PVLFPIN or PVLFPINE.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

12. *Obv.*—+EDP:RD REX. Bust to left, diademed; in front, sceptre.

Rev.—+LEOFRED ON LVND. Short cross voided, the limbs gradually expanding, and united at the base by two circles.

B. M. Cat., type V.

This coin is peculiar in having a pellet on the end of each limb of the cross. I do not think that this variety of the type has been previously noted, but in the British Museum there is one (No. 934), GODPINE ON LVND, which has four pellets in the same position; and another (No. 941), LIFINEE ONN LVNDEN, which has a pellet on each of two opposite limbs. At present I have not been able to find any others.

13. *Obv.*—EADPARD REX ANGLO. King seated on throne, holding orb and sceptre.

Rev.—+PVLFRIE ON HSTE. Short cross voided, a martlet in each angle.

B. M. Cat., type IX.

In the British Museum are coins of this type struck by the same moneyer at Chichester, Lincoln, London, Shaftesbury, and Steyning, to which Hildebrand adds Ilchester, and the above coin Hastings.

HAROLD II.

14. *Obv.*—+HAROLD REXAN. Bust to left, crowned. In front, sceptre.

Rev.—+DVNVNE ON DEO. Across field and between two lines, PXX.

B. M. Cat., type I.

A new moneyer, perhaps the name should have read DVNINE.

In the above list, Nos. 8, 9, and 13 are particularly interesting just now in connection with the suggestion lately made by Mr. W. J. Andrew, that the different types are really successive issues, intended to supersede those already in circulation; and I cannot but think that a good deal of light would be thrown upon this point if our collections could be arranged first in types, and then in mints and moneyers, so as to enable us to work out the subject on the same lines adopted by Sir John Evans in his paper on "The Short-cross Question," in 1867.

W. C. BOYD.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Money. By A. R. S. Kennedy. (From Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii., pp. 417—432. With two Plates. 8vo.)

Prof. Kennedy's contribution to the new Bible Dictionary is of a merit so unusual in articles provided by English archæological dictionaries, that it would be unfair to let it pass unnoticed, merely because it has not appeared independently. Although the writer is not a numismatist, his acquaintance with Hebrew literature enables him to throw a great deal of light on the vexed questions of Jewish numismatics; and he has evidently made a most conscientious study of all the numismatic literature bearing on his subject. No question of importance relating to the currency of Palestine, both foreign and native, coined and uncoined, from the earliest time to the Second Revolt, is passed over; and Mr. Kennedy exhibits a caution which cannot be too highly commended in the conclusions to which he comes. The well-known silver shekels which used to be given to Simon the Hasmonæan he attributes, in accordance with recent tendency, to the First Revolt. We hoped that these shekels had now found a resting-place; but M. Théodore Reinach has quite recently (*Rev. des Études Gr.*, xiii., p. 213) discarded the view which he formerly held, and before long we may see him *renovare proelium*. Probably the part of Mr. Kennedy's article which will be most consulted by the average reader is the passage dealing with the coins circulating in Palestine in the time of Christ. An interesting question is suggested by the discussion of the *kodrantēs*. There is no evidence that the Roman quadrans was in circulation under the Empire except for the brief period between the reigns of Nero and Trajan. The references to this coin would seem to indicate that the texts received their present form, or that the phrases "two lepta which make a kodrantēs" and "the uttermost kodrantēs" were inserted in the texts, during that period. Mr. Kennedy's statement that the legionary soldier received a denarius a day is misleading. His pay was fixed by Cæsar at a sum amounting to 225 denarii a year, or $\frac{5}{12}$ denarius a day. Only in terms of the old denarius of 10 asses could this be called "a denarius a day."

The two plates which illustrate Mr. Kennedy's article are only moderately good. Jewish coins are such poor works of art that they require to be illustrated either by line-blocks or by the very best collotype process.

It may be worth while to add that the article is so well and clearly arranged that the reader need not be a numismatist or a Hebrew scholar in order to derive benefit from it.

G. F. H.

The Token Money of the Bank of England, 1797—1816. By Maberly Phillips, F.S.A. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange.

To the numismatist and economist it seems almost incredible that, in spite of the care which had been exercised since the reign of Elizabeth to preserve the standard of our coinage and to provide a sufficiency for general use, it should have fallen into such a disorganised condition during the second half of the last century and the first few years of the present one. Ruding tells us, that at the accession of George III the coinage was found to be in a very imperfect state. Crown pieces had almost wholly disappeared; the half-crowns which remained were defaced and impaired, and by no means adequate for the purposes for which they were intended; the shillings had lost almost every mark of impression, and the sixpences were in a worse state. The gold coinage, too, was rapidly approaching a similar condition. This gloomy view seems to us perhaps somewhat exaggerated; but nevertheless there is no doubt that the coinage generally was getting into a bad state, and in spite of this the Government took so few measures to ameliorate it, that from 1760 to 1817 there was only one issue of what may be called an official silver coinage. This occurred in 1787, when shillings and sixpences to the amount only of about seventy or eighty thousand pounds were struck. The copper money fared but little better, and so gave rise to an enormous issue of tradesmen's tokens throughout the country; but some attention was paid to the gold, which, however, suffered much from clipping and sweating. Various enactments were made forbidding the importation of debased coins and others of light weight; but the demand for a currency of some kind or other was so great that no heed was paid to them. It was this condition of things that gave rise to the issue of the token money of the Bank of England, which is the main subject of Mr. Phillips' work. Previous to the issue of these tokens the Government made two fruitless attempts to remedy the dearth of small change. The first was by allowing the Bank of England to issue notes for £2 and £1, and the country bankers others of smaller amounts, 10s., 5s., and 1s.; but these provisions did not remove the difficulty, as those who had change would not part with it. The next move was the supply of Spanish dollars, half, quarter, and eighth dollars, counter-

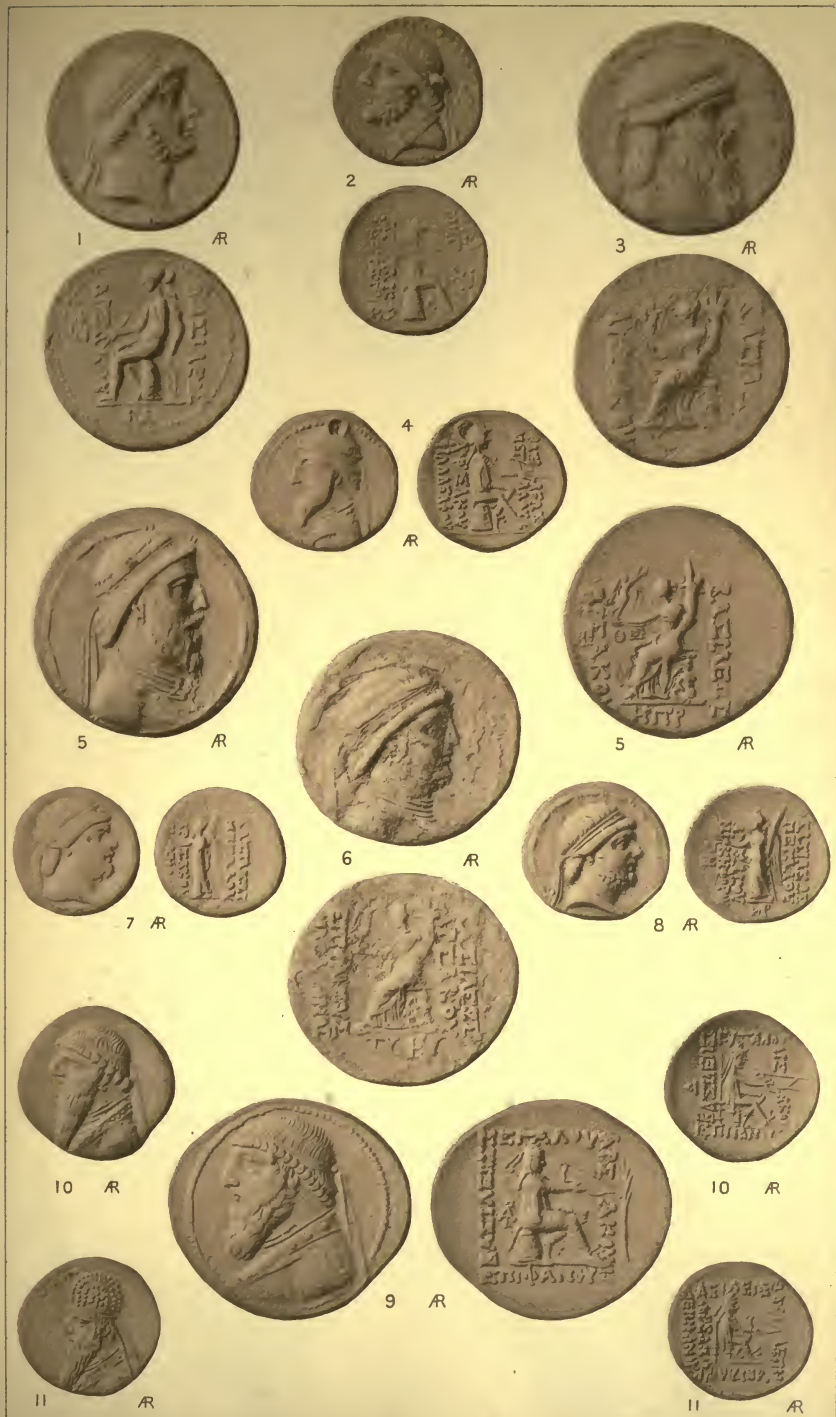
stamped with a small head of George III, the mark then used by silversmiths. Much of this Spanish silver came from treasure-ships captured by the English. The dollar at first was made current for 4s. 6d., but as its bullion value was 4s. 8d., a number soon found their way into the melting-pot; but this was remedied by raising its current value to 4s. 9d. Then the forger stepped in and made his counterfeits in base metal, and in spite of the change of the counter-stamp, continued his nefarious practice. It seems strange that no attempt was made to melt down the Spanish coins and issue a proper official coinage; it could not have been for want of good machinery at the Mint, nor of capable artists to execute the dies. Instead of this, the circulation of the Spanish coin was prohibited, and permission was given to the Bank of England in 1804 to issue dollars of the current value of 5s., and subsequently other pieces of the value of 3s. and 1s. 6d., and these for several years formed the bulk of silver money in this country. The only other silver in circulation consisted of very "thin and worn coins which had escaped the melting-pot, and also foreign coins, which were often so thin and effaced that it was impossible to identify them." In order to give a certain value to such pieces they were often stamped with the initials of private firms, by which means a local circulation was secured. Mr. Phillips tells us that it was under such conditions that on May 21st, 1816, a committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the state of the coin of the kingdom advocated a new coinage of silver, and this advice, even at a great sacrifice, was adopted, and the following year witnessed not only a new issue of silver on the old standard and of former denomination, but also a reform of the gold money, the twenty-shilling piece being once more introduced, bearing the old name of sovereign, and its half. With this new issue all the Bank tokens and the much-worn silver soon disappeared from circulation, and the coinage of this realm has since been so well regulated that there has been no occasion to revive the token money or again to resort to similar methods.

Besides the Bank token money, Mr. Phillips gives some account of the private silver tokens struck during this period, and of the use to which the Spanish dollar was put in the West Indies, where it was pierced or cut up into parts. The author has taken considerable pains to look into contemporary records, both official and others, and with the help of these he has produced a very readable book, which otherwise might have been a little technical. The illustrations are good and numerous, and have the advantage of being introduced into the text.

H. G.







AUTOTYPE

PARTHIAN COINS.





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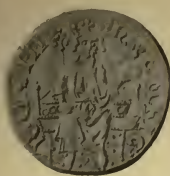


AUTOTYPE

THE GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD III. 1340-1372.

(Actual size $4\frac{3}{8}$ in.)





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4



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6



7



8



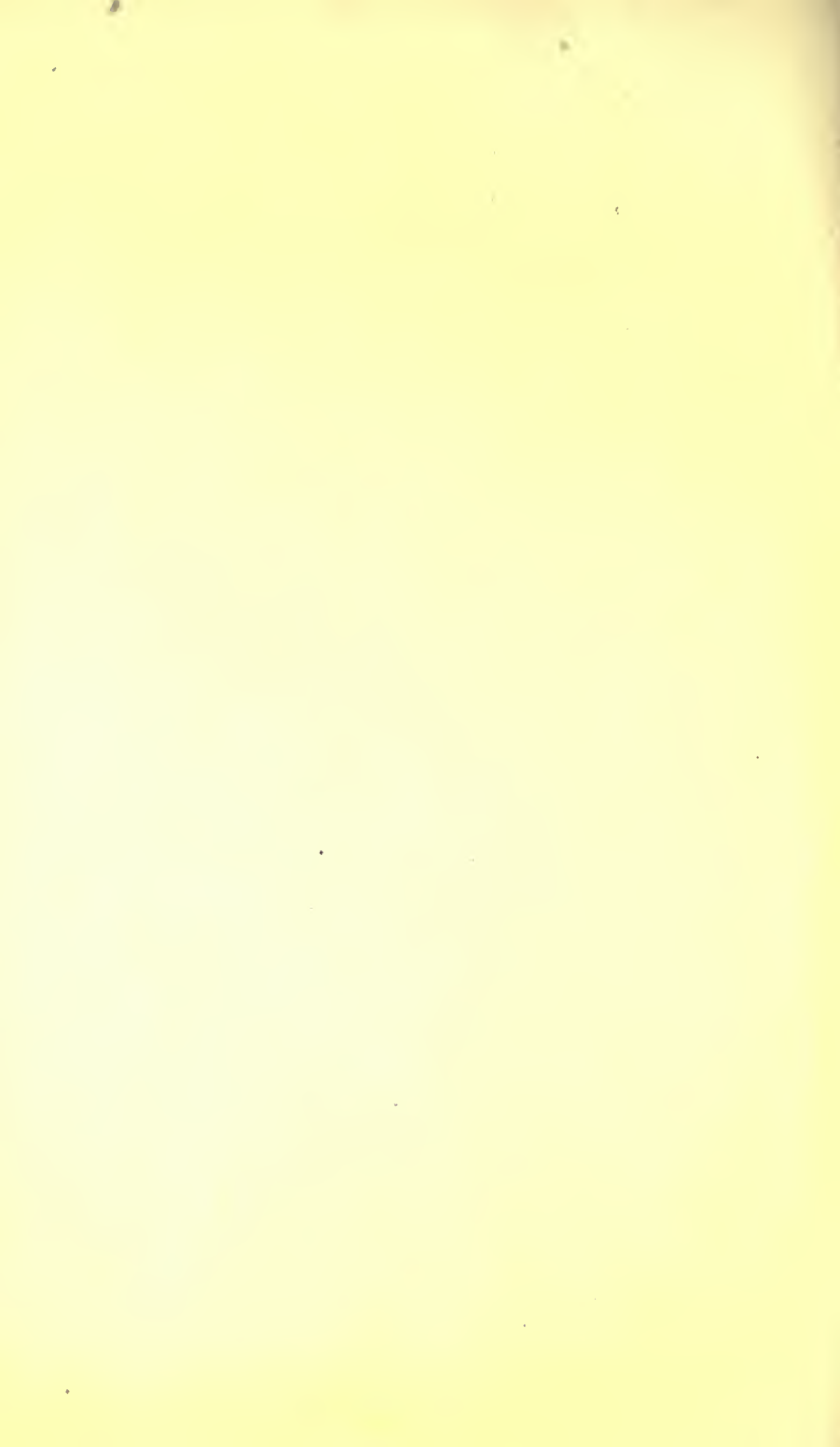
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10



AUTOTYPE



XV.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1900.

(See Plates XIII., XIV.)

It will be seen from the table given below that the total number of Greek coins acquired by the British Museum during the year 1900 is 915. Most of these have been obtained by purchase out of the ordinary Departmental Grant, but some are presentations due to the kindness of Sir John Evans, Mr. Barclay V. Head, Mr. A. J. Lawson, Miss K. Radford, Mr. W. T. Ready, and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. As in my thirteen former papers,¹ I give an account of some of the more noteworthy specimens. Among the acquisitions of the year are numerous Lydian coins, but I have not referred to them here, because they will be included in the Museum Cata-

¹ Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins and Medals from the year 1887 onwards will be found described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; 1891, p. 116 f.; 1892, p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f.; 1895, p. 89 f.; 1896, p. 85 f.; 1897, p. 93 f.; 1898, p. 97 f.; 1899, p. 85 f.; 1900, p. 1 f. In preparing this paper I have had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Parliamentary Report of the British Museum, and I am also indebted for several valuable suggestions to Mr. Head and Mr. G. F. Hill.

logue of *Lydia*, which Mr. Head is now seeing through the press. Numerous Phrygian, Parthian, and Phœnician coins—the last-named acquired at the Reichardt sale—have also been omitted, as they will find their place in volumes of the Greek Catalogue that will soon be taken in hand.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887—1900.

Year.	Gold and Electrum.	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	110	176
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	270	347
1890	5	102	70	177
1891	16	280	73	369
1892	10	99	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
1894	31	164	453	648
1895	20	178	479	677
1896	54	428	170	652
1897	20	313	503	836
1898	3	222	699	924
1899	1	112	372	485
1900	1	310	604	915
Total. .	195	2,666	4,660	7,521

SYRACUSE (SICILY).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone l., wreathed with corn, and wearing earring and necklace; around, four dolphins; in field, under chin, pellet; border of dots.

Rev.—Quadriga l., driven by charioteer holding goad and reins; horses galloping; above, Nike flying r. to crown charioteer; in exergue, [Ξ]ΥΡΑΚΟ-ΞΙ . . ; border of dots.

R. Size 1.05. Wt. 259.3 grs. [Pl. XIII. 1.]

(Purchased at Sale at Sotheby's, May, 1900, "Greek

Coins of a late Collector," lot 154; previously in Carfrae Sale, Sotheby's, May, 1894, lot 68.)

A very rare tetradrachm by Evaenetos, important on account of its bearing the same types as his (unsigned) dekadrachms, on several of which a pellet is placed beneath the chin, as here (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Sicily, "Syracuse,"* Nos. 179-184). The existence of this tetradrachm may possibly suggest some modification of Mr. A. J. Evans's view,² that the mintage of tetradrachms at Syracuse ceased about the time (*circ.* B.C. 406) when Evaenetos's dekadrachms were first issued.

CARTHAGINIAN OF SICILY.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone l. wreathed with corn and wearing earring and necklace; around, four dolphins; in field l., pellet?; border of dots.

Rev.—Horse walking r.; in background, palm-tree; circular incuse.

R. Size 1.05. Wt. 264.5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 2.]

(Presented by Miss Kate Radford, in accordance with the wish of the late Dr. Radford.)

CAPSA (MACEDONIA).

3. *Obv.*—Ass (ithyphallic) standing r.; above, drinking-vessel (obscure);³ border of dots.

Rev.—**KA** occupying two of the four compartments of an incuse square of mill-sail pattern.

R. Size .55. Wt. 39 grs. [Pl. XIII. 3.]

This town was not represented in the British Museum when the catalogue *Macedonia* was published. A tetrobol

² *Syracusan Medallions* (1892), pp. 150, 151.

³ Called by Von Sallet, a kantharos; by Imhoof-Blumer, a kylix.

(wt. 43·8 grs.) similar to that here described was acquired by the British Museum in 1881, but its condition is not so good. The resemblance of these coins in type, style, and weight, to those of Mende in Pallene is obvious, and Von Sallet (*Z. f. N.* xii., 1885, p. 358), describing the specimen in the French collection, supposed it to have been struck at Mende, while bearing the name of Kanastraion. But Kanastraion is known only as the name of a promontory of Pallene, and Imhoof-Blumer's attribution⁴ to Kampsa or Kapsa, a town in the Chalcidice, north of Mende, is decidedly preferable, though hardly to be regarded as beyond all doubt. The town is known only from a mention in Herodotus (vii. 123), who speaks of Kampsa as existing at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, and from a notice in Stephanus Byz., who has: — Κάψα πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμορουῖσα τῇ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ· ὁ πολίτης Καψαῖος.

The ass must be here, as at Mende, a Dionysiac type, and the drinking vessel above it may be regarded at this early period (*circ.* B.C. 480) as part of the main type rather than as a magistrate's symbol. If the real name of the town is Κάψα it may possibly be connected with the word κάπτω (*fut.* κάψω), which means to greedily gulp down liquids or eatables, and with κάψις, "the act of gulping down."

POTIDAEA (MACEDONIA).

4. *Obv.*—Π Ο Poseidon Hippios on horse r., holding in r. trident, in l. reins.

Rev.—Quadripartite incuse square, containing two floral (?) devices, I and uncertain object.

R. Size ·6. Wt. 37·3 grs. [Pl. XIII. 4.]

⁴ *Monn. gr.*, pp. 69, 70; adopted by Head, *H. N.*, p. 187.

A very rare variety of the tetrobols of Potidaea, which usually have a female head on the reverse (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Macedonia*, p. 100). It is, perhaps, similar to one published by Borrell from his own collection (*Num. Chron.*, iii., p. 139, No. 2; wt. $41\frac{1}{2}$ grs.). The Museum coin is somewhat worn, and carelessly struck, but it is certainly the earliest of the tetrobols, and was issued, perhaps, *circ.* B.C. 500.

ALEXANDER III (MACEDONIA).

B.C. 336—323.

5. *Obv.*—Head of beardless Herakles r. in lion's skin.

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡΟΥ Eagle standing r. on club; head turned l.

Æ. Size .6. Wt. 62.5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 5.]

This scarce drachm of Alexander's first coinage is similar to one in the French collection: see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.*, p. 118, No. 23.

ALEXANDER III (MACEDONIA).

6. *Obv.*—Head of beardless Herakles r. in lion's skin; border.

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus wearing himation seated l. on throne with back; in r. hand eagle; l. hand on sceptre; feet on foot-stool; beneath throne, ΑΙ; in field l., statue of naked Herakles standing towards r.; his l. arm rests on his club, which is placed on rock; the lion's skin hangs from club; his r. hand is placed behind his back: border of dots.

Æ. Size 1.1. Wt. 262.4 grs. [Pl. XIII. 6.]

(Purchased at Sale at Sotheby's, May, 1900, "Greek Coins of a late Collector," lot 208.)

This tetradrachm is almost identical with the specimen first published by the late Sir Edward Bunbury in *Num. Chron.*, 1883, p. 7 f.,⁵ but is struck from different dies. It is of Müller's Class iv. (B.C. 300-280), and is attributed by Bunbury to Sicyon (cp. Müller, No. 875).

The Herakles symbol, as Bunbury has already noted, closely resembles the well-known Farnese Hercules in the Naples Museum. This statue is a product of the Neo-Attic school, and is signed by Glykon the Athenian, a sculptor who probably flourished towards the end of the first century B.C. The motive of the statue has been usually traced to a Resting Herakles by Lysippus, but for the general treatment, and especially for the exaggeration of the muscular forms, Glykon, and not Lysippus, must be held responsible.⁶

ABDERA (THRACE).

7. *Obv.*—A **BA HPI TEΩN** Griffin with rounded wing seated l. ; right fore-paw raised ; border of dots.

Rev.—Quadripartite square, around which, **ΕΡΙΝΥΜ-ΦΟΔΩΡΟ** ; the whole in shallow incuse square.

R. Size 1·05. Wt. 227·2 grs. [**Pl. XIII. 7.**]

Von Sallet (*Z. f. N.*, viii., 1881, p. 105), who published a somewhat less perfect specimen of this tetradrachm in the possession of M. Lambros, first suggested the identification of the magistrate with Nymphodoros, a well-known citizen

⁵ Cp. Bunbury, *Sale Catal.*, Part I., lot 766.

⁶ On the statue, see A. S. Murray, ii., pp. 350-352 ; Collignon, ii., p. 425 f. ; 634 ; Ernest Gardner, pp. 501-503 ; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s.v. "Glykon."

of Abdera, who became the proxenos of the Athenians at Abdera, and in B.C. 430 brought about for them an alliance with Sitalkes the King of Thrace, who had married his sister.⁷ This identification is extremely probable, though Von Sallet's supposition that Nymphodoros was "regent" of Abdera seems to go rather beyond the evidence.

The father of Nymphodoros was named Pythes, and it may be noted that a magistrate Pythes—**ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΕΩ**—is named on a coin of Abdera in the Berlin Museum (Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 109, No. 89). As the coin is decidedly later than the tetradrachm of Nymphodoros, the Pythes mentioned cannot be the father of Nymphodoros, though he may possibly be his son bearing the grandfather's name. There seems, however, some doubt as to the reading **ΠΥΘΕΩ**, for in the index to the *Beschreibung*, p. 346, the name is given as **ΠΥΘΕΩ** . . *i.e.* two letters are supposed to be missing from the end of the name.

A tetradrachm of Abdera, published by Greenwell from his collection (*Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 273, No. 1;⁸ pl. xiii. 1), with the inscription **ΕΠΙ ΠΥΘΙΩΝ ΝΕΩ**, bears much resemblance to the Nymphodoros tetradrachm. In each case the town-name (which rarely appears on the earlier coins of Abdera) is inscribed on the obverse.

ABDERA (THRACE).

8. *Obv.*—Griffin with rounded wing (feathers not indicated) seated l. ; right fore-paw raised.

Rev.—Lion's scalp within incuse square.

Æ. Size .5. Wt. 23·8 grs. [Pl. XIII. 8.]

⁷ Hdtus., vii., 137 ; Thuc., ii., 29.

⁸ In this description, *for* seated r. *read* seated l.

I may take this opportunity of remarking that the usual (though not quite invariable) direction of the griffin on the coins of Abdera is to the *left*, while on the coins of Teos the monster is turned to the *right*. This distinction was probably not due to an accident, but to a desire to distinguish two similar coinages. A like distinction was made in the case of the obverse types of the electrum *Hectae* of Lesbos and Phocaea.⁹

APOLLONIA PONTICA (THRACE).

9. *Obv.*—Apollo, wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on omphalos; in r. hand bow resting on ground; l. hand placed on omphalos; counter-mark, star of eight rays.

Rev.—ΘΑΛΗΞ Anchor inverted; in field l., A; in field r., crayfish; circular incuse.

Æ (brass, covered with black patina).
Size .7. [Pl. XIII. 9.]

10. *Obv.*—ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Bust of Faustina jun. r.

Rev.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩ Ν Ι ΗΤΕΩΝ Flaming altar consisting of two stages.
ΕΝ ΠΟΝΤ

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. XIII. 10.]

These coins were purchased from a dealer last year, and are evidently the identical pieces published, from impressions, by Svoronos in *Journ. internat.* ii., 1899, p. 85 (cp. Tacchella, *Rev. Num.*, 1898, p. 212, No. 11). Svoronos supplies the information that they were found at *Sozoupolis*, the ancient Apollonia Pontica.¹⁰

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Troas, &c.*, p. lxvii.

¹⁰ On the judicious transference of the autonomous coins of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia to Apollonia Pontica, see

The Apollo on the bronze coins of the type of No. 9 has been described by all previous writers as naked; on this specimen, at any rate, the himation is clearly seen. The presence of drapery, to some extent, differentiates this type from the "Apollo on the omphalos" familiar on the coins of the Seleucid Kings. A well-known colossal statue of Apollo by Kalamis existed at Apollonia. Dr. Pick (*Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.*, xiii., 1898, p. 168) would recognise a reproduction of this statue, not on coins of the seated type, but on those with a *standing* Apollo.

The star countermark on the obverse of No. 9 may perhaps have some connection with the star that appears so often as a countermark on the coins of Panticapaeum; see, e.g., Burachkov, *Coins of Greek Colonies, Southern Russia*, Pl. XIX. 57; XX. 75-78; XXI. 118; XXIII. 190.

The form of the altar on No. 10 is unusual on coins. Perhaps a colossal altar is intended, like that on the coins of Amasia in Pontus, which is sometimes represented as consisting of two stages: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Pontus*, p. 10, No. 31; p. 11, No. 32; Pl. II. 2; p. xvii. In the case of Amasia, however, the upper stage, on which a sacrificial victim is seen, is explained by Puchstein,¹¹ as the *πυρά*, i.e., a structure imitating masonry, but composed of beams of wood which perished together with the victim when the fiery sacrifice took place. On our coin, each stage seems to be of masonry and is ornamented with a cornice.

A black-figured vase in the British Museum of the Peloponnesian ("Corintho-Attic") class, representing the

Tacchella in *Rev. Num.*, 1898, p. 210; *ib.*, p. 219 (Pick); *Journ. internat. de Num.*, 1898, p. 14 (Imhoof-Blumer); 1899, p. 85 (Svoronos).

¹¹ *Jahrbuch des arch. Inst.*, xi., 1896 (Berlin, 1897), p. 57; on the funeral pyre, Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*, ii., p. 1394.

sacrifice of Polyxena, shows in the centre of the scene "a mound-shaped object with a flat top," from which fire issues (Walters in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xviii. (1898), p. 284, Pl. XV). It has been questioned whether this is a tomb or an altar, but it would certainly seem to be an altar with its burning pyre.

LARISSA (THESSALY).

11. *Obv.*—Circular shield adorned with ox's hoof within circle of dots; above shield, letters [ΟΓ?]; the whole within border of dots.

Rev.— Λ A Bust of bearded Asklepios r., laureate;
 I P in front, serpent with head l.; part of the himation is seen on the naked bust.

Æ. Size .5. Wt. 17.6 grs. [Pl. XIII. 11.]

A specimen of this coin was wrongly attributed by Longpérier (*Rev. Num.*, 1843, p. 422, Pl. XVI. 5) to Pharcadon.¹² Another is in the Imhoof-Blumer collection. A similar obverse (without letters?) occurs in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thessaly*, "Larissa," No. 46.¹³ A bust of Asklepios appears on a bronze coin of Larissa (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 8, No. 17), and he is seen feeding the serpent on a silver coin (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Thess.*, "Larissa," No. 45), struck about the same period (*circ.* B.C. 400) as our coin.

THE OETAEI (THESSALY).

12. *Obv.*—Lion's head l.

Rev.—ΟΙΤΑΙ ΩΝ Beardless Herakles standing facing; wears wreath; in r. hand, club resting on

¹² The mistake was corrected by Imhoof, *Mon. Gr.*, p. 277, note 69.

¹³ In the Catalogue the device on the shield was called a horse's hoof, but the preservation of the coin is very bad.

stones ; lion's skin thrown over l. arm ; l. hand extended.¹⁴

Æ. Size .9. Wt. 119 grs. [Pl. XIII. 12.]

This coin is, I believe, unpublished, though I understand that another specimen belonged to the late Baron L. de Hirsch. The denomination is higher than any hitherto known in the Oetaean coinage.

Herakles appears on the earliest coins of the Oetaei, *circ.* B.C. 400, when he is represented in a somewhat unusual way—completely naked, holding his club in both hands transversely, and wreathed (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Thess.*, Pl. VII. 9). The figure is finely rendered, in the style of Polykleitos. The same figure, clumsily reproduced, is still found on the coins of the latest period, *circ.* B.C. 196-146 (*ib.* Pl. VII. 13). Our coin may be assigned approximately to B.C. 190 or a little earlier, about which period we hear of the *κοινὸν τῶν Οἰταιέων*.¹⁵ The Herakles is now of a more commonplace type, but his wreath has survived from the earlier representation. The leaves of the wreath both here and on the earliest coins are jagged ; it is hard to determine whether vine, oak, or wild celery (*σέλινον*, *apium graveolens*) is intended. A vine-wreath is worn by Herakles as *Bibax* and in Dionysiac scenes of revelry. The connection of the *σέλινον* with him is well known. The pyre of Herakles on Mount Oeta was, according to one account, formed of oak and pine.

It is possible that the Herakles represented on the coins

¹⁴ The hand is imperfectly rendered ; it may be meant to hold an apple or a phiale.

¹⁵ Lebas-Waddington, *Inscr.*, iii., 2, No. 1730 a ; *cp. Bull. corr. hell.*, 1881, p. 141 f. ; x., p. 362.

is the local Herakles who was worshipped by the Oetaei under the name of Κορνοπίων, "locust-scarer," because he had freed them from locusts: καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν παρνόπων, οὓς οἱ Οἰταῖοι κόρνοπας λέγουσι, Κορνοπίωνα τιμᾶσθαι παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἡρακλέα ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀκρίδων χάριν (*Strabo*, xiii., p. 613). But we have no information as to how he was represented in art.

ALYZIA (ACARNANIA).

B.C. 350-300.

13. *Obv.*—Pegasus with pointed wing flying r.

Rev.—Α Λ Υ Head of Athena r. wearing, over leather cap, Corinthian helmet without crest; behind, club.

Æ. Size .95. Wt. 129.2 grs. [Pl. XIII. 14.]

Similar to Imhoof, *Num. Zeit.*, x., p. 48, No. 5. The staters described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Corinth*, p. 114, have the name of the town written at full length.¹⁶

THYRRHEIUM (ACARNANIA).

14. *Obv.*—ΘΥΡΡ[Ε] Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet.

Rev.—ΞΕΝΟ within wreath of laurel.
ΜΕΝΗΣ

Æ. Size .5. Wt. 20.5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 13.]

A similar coin but of a higher denomination (size 17 mm.; wt., 2.92 grm.), is in the French collection (Imhoof, *Num. Zeit.*, x., p. 176, No. 28). The magistrate's name Xenomenes occurs during the same period (*i.e.*, after *circ.*

¹⁶ For other coins of Alyzia, see Imhoof, *op. cit.*, p. 46 f.; Löbbecke in *Z. f. N.*, xv., p. 40.

B.C. 167) on the silver coins of Thyrrheium with the head of Achelous (Imhoof, *op. cit.*, p. 176, Nos. 26, 27).¹⁷ It has been suggested that this magistrate was the ancestor of the Xenomenes who entertained Cicero at Thyrrheium in B.C. 51 and 50.¹⁸

ÆGINA.

15. *Obv.*—Tortoise with structure of the shell shown divided into thirteen plates.

Rev.—Incuse square of mill-sail pattern, *i.e.*, divided into eight triangular compartments alternately raised and depressed.

Æ. Size .8. Wt. 179.9 grs. [Pl. XIII. 16.]

This stater is a very rare variety of the ordinary coins of Ægina. The form of the incuse square proves that it belongs to the first period of the coinage, B.C. 700-550.¹⁹ During this period, and, indeed, until *circ.* B.C. 480, the shell of the tortoise is marked only by a row of dots. Greenwell (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 15, Pl. II. 10), in publishing a similar specimen,²⁰ remarked that there "appears to be an attempt to represent the carapace in a naturalistic manner," as on the later coins of Ægina, B.C. 480-431. This method of representation did not, however, long prevail, for on the coins of the second period of Æginetan coinage, *circ.* B.C. 550-480 (those

¹⁷ Also Montagu Sale (Part I.), 1896, lot 342, now in British Museum.

¹⁸ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 282; cp. Imhoof, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁹ Cp. Head, *B. M. Cat., Attica*, &c., p. 126 ff.

²⁰ The reverse is of a form that is perhaps rather earlier than that of our coin. Another specimen is in the Imhoof-Blumer Collection. (See Imhoof and Keller, *Tier und Pflanzenbilder*, Pl. VI. 25.)

with the incuse divided into five compartments by broad bands), the tortoise has the old form—a smooth shell with a single row of dots.

CORINTH.

16. *Obv.*—Head of Pegasos l. [? beneath, Φ].

Rev.—Trident ; circular incuse.

R. Size .3. Wt. 3.7 grs. [Pl. XIII. 15.]

A hemi-obol, B.C. 431-338. The obols (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Corinth*, p. 21) have the same reverse but a complete Pegasos on obverse.

ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

17. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Zeus Homagyrios r. ; hair long, wreathed with laurel.

Rev.— Λ within wreath of laurel ; circular incuse.

R. Size .6. Wt. 41.5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 1.]

This coin may be regarded as the prototype of the coins of the League. The head is of unusually good style and the monogram, through being represented by broad lines in high relief, has a much better decorative effect than on the later issues.²¹ The coin is certainly not later than the re-organization of the League in B.C. 280. Mr. Head is even inclined to place it in the first half of the fourth century. This attribution—so far as our present evidence goes—would leave the coin in a rather

²¹ For other coins of the early period of the League, see Weil in *Z. f. N.*, ix. (1882), pp. 240, 241 ; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.*, pp. 156, 157 ; Clerk, *Catal., Achaean League* (1895), p. 1 ; Pl. I. 1-8.

isolated position, and it is perhaps better to assign it, provisionally, to *circ.* B.C. 280. So far as the style of the obverse is concerned, however, there would be no difficulty in assigning it to the fourth century. The treatment of the head of Zeus recalls, *e.g.*, the Zeus on the coins of Alexander of Epirus, B.C. 342-326.²²

DELOS.

18. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo l., laur. ; hair long.

Rev.— Δ H Palm-tree, on which swan l.

$\mathcal{R}$. Size .6. Wt. 47 grs. [Pl. XIV. 2.]

The reverse type is well known from the bronze coins²³ of Delos (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Crete*, &c., "Delos," No. 3 ; cp. "Delos," No. 1 ; p. xlv), *circ.* B.C. 200-87. Silver coins of the island, and especially the drachm denomination, are rare. This specimen is perhaps of the type of the $\epsilon\rho\alpha\chi\mu\eta$ $\Delta\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ mentioned in the list of dedications in the temple of the Delian Apollo (list of Demares, B.C. 200-180).²⁴ In the second and first century (to *circ.* B.C. 80), Delos was a trading centre of some importance.²⁵

CALCHEDON (BITHYNIA).

19. *Obv.*—KAA χ Bull standing l. on ear of corn ; in front, $\boxplus$.²⁶

²² Gardner, *Cat.*, *Thessaly*, &c., Pl. XX. 1, 3, 4.

²³ Χαλκοὶ ἐπιχόριοι, χαλκὸς Δῆλιος. *Bull. corr. hell.*, vi., p. 133.

²⁴ Homolle, *Bull. corr. hell.*, vi., p. 49, line 191 ; P. Gardner, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1883, p. 245.

²⁵ Jebb in *J. H. S.*, i., 32 f.

²⁶ This monogram occurs on a drachm, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Pontus*, p. 125, No. 16, and on a well-preserved specimen purchased by the Museum at the Montagu Sale in 1896.

Rev.—Incuse square of four compartments containing dots; the whole in circular incuse.

Æ. Size 1. Wt. 230·8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 3.]

The reverse is somewhat unusual, but the genuineness of the coin is beyond question. Tetradrachms of this period (*circ.* B.C. 350-280), formerly scarce, have during the last few years become fairly common, owing apparently to finds in northern Asia Minor.

ATTAEA (MYSIA).

20. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΑΙΛΑΥ ΡΗΚΟΜΟΔ Bust of Commodus r., laur.; beardless; wears paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ΕΠΙΕΤΡΑΡΟΝ ΦΟΒΑΤΤΑΙΤΩΝ Female figure (Crispina? in the character of Homonoia) wearing chiton, peplos and kalathos, standing l.; in l., cornucopiae; r. holding phiale over lighted altar.

Æ. Size 1·25. [Pl. XIV. 5 *rev.*]

The head of the sacrificing figure seems to me to resemble the wife of Commodus,²⁷ who on her Roman bronze coins is represented as a seated Concordia holding patera and cornucopiae.

The local *strategos*, Πούφος, appears also on the coins of Sept. Severus and Caracalla.²⁸

LAMPSACUS (MYSIA).

21. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Priapus r., wreathed with ivy; border of dots.

²⁷ The head of Crispina appears as the obverse of one of the coins of Attaea in Imhooft-Blumer, *Monn. gr.*, p. 394, No. 64.

²⁸ Waser in *Revue Suisse*, vii. p. 323; Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, No. 5748.

Rev.—ΛΑΜΨΑ r.; in exergue, ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΩΝΟΣ
ΚΗΝΩΝ l. ΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΩΝΟΣ

Apollo Citharoedus standing r.; in r., plectrum; in l., lyre; in field l., ~~XP~~; in field r., female figure (Hekate?) wearing chiton and kalathos, standing, holding torch in each hand.

Æ. Size 1·2. Wt. 248·3 grs. [Pl. XIV. 4.]

(Purchased at Sale at Sotheby's, May, 1900, "Greek Coins of a late Collector," lot 327.)

A similar tetradrachm is in the Waddington Collection (Babelon, *Invent.*, No. 885).²⁹

EPHESUS (IONIA).

22. *Cistophorus* of the usual types; on rev. above bow-case, circular shield; in field l. ^{IA}ΕΦ; in field r., long torch.

Æ. Size 1·1. Wt. 192·5.

The date of this specimen is B.C. 123, for ^{IA} = year 11 in the series of dated cistophori struck at Ephesus B.C. 133 to B.C. 67. This coin partly fills the gap between years "10" and "13," of which cistophori are already known. See Head, *Coins of Ephesus*, p. 66.

SPITHRIDATES.

SATRAP OF IONIA AND LYDIA, D. 334 B.C.³⁰

23. *Obv.*—Head of Spithridates l., bearded, wears Persian head-dress tied beneath chin.

²⁹ Cp. *Num Chron.* 1900, p. 17, No. 21. The tetradrachms of this class furnish the names of four different magistrates, each with the patronymic.

³⁰ On Spithridates, see Babelon, *Mélanges Numismatiques*, ii. p. 161 f. (cp. *Rev. Num.*, 1892, p. 277, &c.).

Rev.—Forepart of galloping horse, r.; beneath
ΞΠΙΟΡΙ

Æ. Size .6. Wt. 44.7 grs. [Pl. XIV. 6.]

This is similar to the rare tetrobol in the Waddington Collection (Babelon, *Invent.* No. 1364, Pl. III. 4). Two reverse types are known of the coins of this satrap: I. Forepart of winged horse. *Tetrobols*. Paris (Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, No. 1366, Pl. III. 6); Berlin (Von Rauch Coll.; cp. Sallet, *N. Z.* iii. p. 424); British Museum (*Cat. Ionia*, p. 327, No. 18).³¹ II. Forepart of galloping horse. *Tetrobols*. Paris (*Invent. Waddington*, No. 1364, Pl. III. 4); British Museum (No. 23 *supra*). *Bronze*. Paris (two specimens, one of which = *Invent. Waddington*, No. 1365, Pl. III. 5); Berlin (*N. Z.* iii. p. 424); British Museum (*Cat. Ionia*, p. 327, No. 19).³² The coins of these two types have been assigned to Lamp-sacus and Cyme, respectively, but, as M. Babelon has remarked, there is no complete proof that they were struck there.

PERGA (PAMPHYLIA).

24. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΜΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ CCEB Head of
Caracalla r., bearded; laur.

³¹ The Brit. Mus. coin was first published in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, pp. 17, 18. My statement that it was "probably from the same die" as the Von Rauch (Berlin) specimen, requires correction. The obverse of the coin shows the head of the satrap on the obverse with a full beard; on the Paris and Berlin specimens the beard is partially concealed by the cap, which is, in these two instances, tied under the chin.

³² The description of the reverse in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ionia*, should probably be corrected by comparison with *Invent. Waddington*, No. 1365.

Rev.—ΠΕΡ Γ ΑΙΩΝ; in ex., ΘΕΜΙC Female figure in chiton and peplos seated l.; in l. palm-branch; in extended r. wreath, within which ΤΟ.

Æ. Size 1. [Pl. XIV. 7 *rev.*]

The seated figure cannot be identified by any attributes as either the Artemis or the Tyche of Perga. Probably it is the goddess presiding over the games (θέμις).³³ The same wreath, with peculiar projections, is seen on the coins of Aspendus (Hill, *Cat. Lycia, &c.*, Pl. XXII., 8) also in connection with the θέμις. It was probably one of the prizes awarded at games of this class. ΤΟ is apparently a date = 370: on the coins of Aspendus we find ΘΕΜΙΔΟC ΤΞΘ (369); ΤΟΒ (372); ΤΟΕ (375): see Hill, *op. cit.* p. lxxiv.

SIDE (PAMPHYLIA).

25. *Obr.*—ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑCΑΛΩΝΙΝ ΑCΕ Bust of Salonina r.; in front, l.

Rev.—CΙΔΗΤΩΝ Α ΝΕΩΚΟ ΡΩΝ Two purses and prize-urn containing two palm-branches on agonistic table, between the legs of which,
ΔΩ
ΡΕΑ

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. XIV. 12 *rev.*]

ΔΩΡΕΑ would appear to indicate that the prizes for the games were the gift of Salonina or her husband. More or less parallel inscriptions may be found on coins of Tarsus:—ΔΩΡΕΑ CΙΤΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΕΓΥ ΤΑΡCΩ (Egyptian corn presented to Tarsus by the Emperor

³³ On the θέμις in Cilicia, &c., cp. *Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 119, No. 36.

Caracalla); **ΔΩΡΕΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** (*i.e.* Severus Alexander).³⁴ The inscriptions **ΔΩΡΕΑ, ΠΥΡΑΜΟΣ** at Aegeae and Mopsus in Cilicia apparently record the gift of a bridge over the river Pyramos.³⁵ The inscription **ΤΕΙΜΑΙ** (*τιμαί*), on coins of the Kings of Bosphorus, accompanying various objects sent as presents by the Roman Emperors,³⁶ may also be compared.

OLBASA (PISIDIA).

(COLONIA JULIA AUGUSTA OLBASENA.)

26. *Obv.*—**ΙΥΓΙ ΛΛΥΣ** Bust of Julia Domna r.

Rev.—**С. ΙΥΛΙΑΥΕ ΦΟΛΒΑΣΕ** Tyche draped and wearing kalathos, standing l.; r. hand on rudder; l. holds cornucopiae.³⁷

Æ. Size 1. [Pl. XIV. 13 *rev.*]

COLYBRASSUS (CILICIA).

27. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΜΑΝΤΓ ΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCΕ** Bust of Gordian III r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**ΚΟΛΥΒΡΑ C[C]ΕΩΝ** Tyche, draped and wearing kalathos, standing l.; r. hand on rudder; l. holds cornucopiae.

Æ. Size 9.

³⁴ On the Tarsian inscriptions of this class, see Rostowzew in *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 96, and *reff.* to Hill and Babelon.

³⁵ Cp. Hill, *Cat., Lycaonia, &c.*, p. cxii., and p. cxv.; cp. **ΔΩΡΕΑΙ** mentioned *ib.*, p. cxii.; Waddington, *Bull. corr. hell.*, vii., p. 289.

³⁶ Wroth, *Cat., Pontus*, p. xxxviii.

³⁷ For another coin of J. Domna, see Babelon, *Inven. Waddington*, No. 3759.

LAERTES (CILICIA).

28. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΓΑΛΛΙΗ Ν Ο CCE Bust of Gallienus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in front, ΙΑ.

Rev.—ΛΑΕΡΤΕΙ ΤΩΝ Zeus, wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on throne (without back); l. hand on long sceptre; r. hand outstretched to eagle at his feet.³⁸

Æ. Size 1·15.

TITIOPOLIS (CILICIA).

29. *Obv.*—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ Head of Hadrian r., laur.

Rev.—ΤΙΤΙΟΠΟΛΙΤ Ν Zeus, wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on throne (without back); r. hand on long sceptre; in l. hand, cornucopiae; at feet, eagle.

Æ. Size 1·1. [Pl. XIV. 10 *rev.*]

(Purchased at the Reichardt Sale, Sotheby's, March, 1899, lot 342.)

This is a variety of the coin in the French collection published by Waddington in *Rev. Num.* 1883, p. 37, No. 1.³⁹

SYRIA. SELEUCUS I. NICATOR.

B.C. 306-281.

30. *Obv.*—Head of beardless Herakles r. in lion's skin; border.

³⁸ Cp. a similar type of Trebonianus Gallus, *Mion.*, sup., vii., p. 225, No. 283. On Laertes, Hill, *B. M. Cat., Lycaonia*, p. xxxiv.

³⁹ For other coins of Titiopoliis, see Hill, *B. M. Cat., Lycaonia*, p. 231; p. lx.; Babelon, *Invent. Waddington*, Nos. 4740, 4741.

Rev.—ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Zeus, wearing himation over lower limbs, seated l. on throne (without back); in r., eagle; l. on long sceptre; beneath,  (?); [in front, anchor and monogram?]; border.

Æ. Size .35. Wt. 10.1 grs. [Pl. XIV. 9.]

(Purchased at Sale at Sotheby's, May, 1900, "Greek Coins of a late Collector," lot 417. The hemi-drachm in the same lot was also acquired by the British Museum.)

An apparently unpublished denomination—the obol—of the first coinage of Seleucus I with the types of Alexander the Great. A drachm and hemi-drachm of these types are described in Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 2, Nos. 4 and 5.

SYRIA. ANTIOCHUS VI. DIONYSOS.

B.C. 145-142.

31. *Obv.*—Head of young Antiochus VI. r. wearing radiate diadem; fillet border.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ The Dioscuri l. on horseback, wearing chlamydes and pilei surmounted with stars; lances couched; in field l. thyrsos and $\text{H}\Xi\text{P}$ = year 168 = B.C. 145-4; in field r., TPY and ; whole in wreath of laurel, ivy, lilies, and corn.

Æ. Size 1.3. Wt. 248.8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 11.]

Compare *Brit. Mus. Cat., Syria*, p. 63, No. 1; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 128, No. 988.

CAESAREA PANIAS (TRACHONITIS).

32. *Obv.*—ΜΑΥ...ΩΝΙ ΝΟCCEB Head of Caracalla r., bearded; laur.

Rev.—**KAICAPIATANIAC** Lagobolon and syrinx;
beneath, **CIΔ** = year 214 = A.D. 211 (Era,
B.C. 3).

Æ. Size .9. [Pl. XIV. 14 *rev.*]

(Purchased at the Reichardt Sale, Sotheby's, March,
1899, lot 303.)

An unpublished coin. The reverse refers to the god
Pan, who had a famous grotto at Caesarea Panias.⁴⁰

GERASA (DECAPOLIS).

33. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΚΤΡΑ ΙΑ**,⁴¹ **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟCC** Head of
Hadrian r. laur.

Rev.—**ΑΡ[ΤΕ]ΜΙΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑCΩΝ** Bust of
Artemis r.; at shoulder, quiver; before her,
bow.

Æ. Size .75. [Pl. XIV. 8 *rev.*]

(Purchased at the Reichardt Sale, Sotheby's, March,
1899, lot 313, with two other coins of Hadrian
and one coin of Commodus.)

The coins of this town (now *Jerash*) were not repre-
sented in the British Museum when the *Cat., Galatia, &c.*
(cp. p. lxxxviii.) was published.⁴²

⁴⁰ The types relating to Pan are discussed in my *Cat., Galatia, &c.*, p. lxxxi. f.

⁴¹ These letters (**ΙΑ**) are placed beneath the head.

⁴² On the coins inscribed **ΑΝ. ΤΩ. ΠΡ. ΧΡ** &c., referred to *Cat., Galatia*, p. lxxxix. (after Imhoof), see Perdrizet in the *Revue Biblique* for July, 1900, "Lettre au R. P. Séjourné," § 9. 'Αντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Χρυσόπορα, ἡ πρότερον Γέρασα. Cp. Drouin in *Rev. Num.*, 1900, p. 487.

EGYPT. BERENICE II, WIFE OF PTOLEMY III EUERGETES.

34. *Obv.*—Bust of Berenice II r., wearing diadem, veil, and necklace ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ Cornucopiae with regal diadem attached ; on each side, pileus wreathed ; border of dots.

Æ. Size 1. Wt. 157 grs. [Pl. XIV. 15.]

(Purchased at Sale at Sotheby's, May, 1900, "Greek Coins of a late Collector," lot 477.)

This appears to be a new denomination of the coins of Berenice II, struck (according to Svoronos) B.C. 246—221. Two specimens with similar types (two pilei on reverse), but of higher denominations, are figured in Svoronos's excellent article on the coins of this queen (*Journ. int.* i. 1898, Pl. Θ,⁴³ Nos. 1 and 2 ; p. 227).

WARWICK WROTH.

⁴³ On coins of Berenice II see also Babelon, *Mélanges numismatiques*, ii., p. 1 f. ; cp. Mowat, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, p. 27. On statues of the queen, Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ; Dutilh, *ib.*, p. 433.

XVI.

CLASSIFICATION CHRONOLOGIQUE DES ÉMISSIONS MONÉTAIRES DE L'ATELIER DE SISCIA PENDANT LA PÉRIODE CONSTANTINIENNE.

(Voir Planches XV, XVI.)

LA description des émissions monétaires de l'atelier de Siscia pendant la période Constantinienne doit être commencée un peu avant l'avènement de Constantin le Grand à York en Bretagne le 25 Juillet 306.

En effet ce fut le 1^{er} Mai 305 qu'eut lieu l'élévation de Sévère II et de Maximin Daja au rang de César,¹ tandis que Constance I et Galère étaient reconnus Augustes et que Dioclétien et Maximien se retiraient du gouvernement de l'empire en gardant le titre de *Seniores Augusti*.²

Or la première émission dont la description va suivre commença à être frappée le 1^{er} Mai 305 et cessa de l'être le 11 Novembre 308. Elle comprend en effet des monnaies de Sévère II et de Maximin Césars, de Constance I et de Galère Augustes, élevés tous à leurs dignités nouvelles le 1^{er} Mai 305; ainsi que celles de Maximien Hercule et Dioclétien désignés depuis la même date

¹ Lenain de Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tome iv., p. 52.

² Eckhel a déjà indiqué ce titre de *Seniores Augusti* comme porté sur les monnaies par Dioclétien et Maximien après leur abdication. Eckhel, t. viii., 14, 24.

comme *Seniores Augusti*. Elle présente aussi des monnaies de Constantin César et de Sévère Auguste qui furent promus à ces dignités après le 25 Juillet 306.³ Mais elle ne contient aucune monnaie de Licinius et cessa en conséquence de paraître avant le 11 Novembre 308.

La Pannonie où se trouvait l'atelier de Siscia fut attribuée à Sévère II le 1^{er} Mai 305⁴ et lui appartient jusqu'à sa mort survenue en Avril ou en Mai 307.⁵ Elle fit ensuite partie du domaine de Galère, chef du quadruple gouvernement impérial (tétrarchie) jusqu'au 11 Novembre 308, date à laquelle il l'attribua à Licinius en créant ce dernier Auguste.⁶

PREMIÈRE ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Mai 305 jusqu'au 11 Novembre 308.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de deux sortes. Ce sont :

1. De grandes pièces (Folles) ; ayant de 25 à 30 millimètres de diamètre ; pesant de 8 grammes 95 c. à 10 grammes 50 c. ; en moyenne environ 10 grammes.

2. De petites pièces (Centenionales) ayant des diamètres de 18 à 19 millimètres, des poids variant de 1 gr. 60 à 2 gr. 30, d'une moyenne plus élevée que celle du Centenionalis que l'on trouve à la fin du règne de Constantin et qui est de 1 gramme 75 c.⁷

³ Lactantius: *De Mort. Pers.*, caput xxv. Constantin ne porta sur les monnaies le titre César qu'à partir de cette époque. Il fut proclamé Imperator par ses troupes aussitôt après la mort de Constance et reconnu ensuite César par Galère.

⁴ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 236.

⁵ *Anonymus Valesii*, iv., 9.

⁶ Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, c. xxix.

⁷ Je suis pour la classification des espèces de bronze le

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les signes du revers et exergues suivants—

$\frac{|VI}{SISA}$

$\frac{|VI}{SISB}$

$\frac{|VI^s}{SISF}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—La légende CONCORDIA IMPERII ; et comme type la Concorde debout à gauche, coiffée du modius, appuyée sur un sceptre et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit. 1.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Avec sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 7 ; FR. 8781 [Pl. XV., No. 1], 8782 ; 8 gr. 90 ; 25 millimètres de diamètre et 12 gr. 30 ; 28 m.m. ; BR. MVS.

2. SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Avec sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 4 ; FR. 8731 ; 9 gr. 90 ; 26 m.m.

Le Colonel Voetter pense que peut-être on rencontre la lettre d'officine Δ .⁹

travail de O. Seeck (*Die Münzpolitik Diocletians, Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, t. xvii., p. 36 et seq.).

L'identification du follis de l'époque qui nous occupe avec la *pecunia majorina* des lois du code Théodosien (notamment lib. ix., tit. 23, lex. 2), à partir de l'année 395, permet d'attribuer le nom de Centenionalis à la plus petite espèce de bronze de cette époque qui correspond à celle de la fin du règne de Constantin. [Cf. Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie romaine*, Trad. de Blacas, Paris, 1873, tome iii., pp. 105 et 164.

Les *follis* qui vont être décrits sont de la même sorte que ceux que Dioclétien fit frapper depuis l'année 300 (cf. Fried. Kenner, *Die ält. Prägungen der Münzstätte Nicomedia, Numism. Zeitschrift*, 1894-95, p. 5).

⁸ L'exergue SIS désigne l'atelier de Siscia, et les lettres grecques A, B, Γ, les trois officines de cette émission ; mais le chiffre VI. placé dans le champ est inexpliqué.

⁹ La collection du Colonel O. Voetter, à Vienne, est la plus importante en monnaies de bronze de cette époque. C'est à son

3. FLA. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. C. Même tête.
Pièce inédite. BR. MVS.; Voetter.¹⁰
4. FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. C. Même tête.
H. MVS. V.; BR. MVS. Pièce décrite par M.
Gnecchi (*Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, fasci.
iii., 1891).
5. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Avec sa
tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 67; H. MVS. V.;
10 gr. 50; 26 m.m.

On frappa à la même époque les pièces des Augustes (Seniores) Maximien Hercule et Dioclétien.

Au revers.—PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG. La Providence debout à gauche, tenant un rameau levé et un sceptre, en face d'une femme qui la regarde et lève la droite.

Au droit.—D. N. MAXIMIANO BAEATISSIMO (*sic*) SEN. AVG. Son buste lauré à droite, à mi-corps, avec le manteau impérial, tenant une branche de laurier et un livre ou la mappa. Cohen, 490; FR. 8231; 8 gr. 95; 29 m.m.

La pièce de Dioclétien; Cohen, 422; se présente certainement avec le même exergue.

Au revers.—PERPETVITAS AVGG. Rome assise à gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une victoire, à côté d'elle un bouclier.

Au droit. 1.—FLA. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite, pièce inédite. Collection Voetter; 27 m.m.

obligeance que je dois d'avoir pu compléter un grand nombre de séries monétaires de Siscia. Je profite de cette occasion pour l'en remercier.

¹⁰ J'indique comme collections, ainsi que je l'ai fait dans mes précédentes publications, d'abord les collections du Cabinet de France (FR.) et du British Museum (BR. MVS.), puis celles des autres musées (H. MVS. V. = Hof Museum, Vienne; T. = Turin) et ensuite seulement les collections par-

2. FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Même tête. Cohen, 57; H. MVS. V.; 27 m.m.; BR. MVS.
3. FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. C. Même tête. Cohen, 59; BR. MVS.; Voetter.

4. SEVERVS NOB. CAES. Même tête. Cohen, 56; BR. MVS.; Collection Trau à Vienne.¹¹

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVAT. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, avec le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une victoire et un sceptre.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 329, de Hercule, attribuable à Galère; FR. 8222; 9 gr. 15; BR. MVS. [Pl. XV., No. 2.]

2. IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG.¹² Même tête. Cohen, 330, de Hercule, attribuable à Galère; Voetter.

3. IMP. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 153; FR. 8240.

4. IMP. SEVERVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue; pièce inédite. 27 m.m.; musée de Buda-Pesth.

5. FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C. Tête analogue. Cohen, 280 (H. MVS. V.; collection Lichtenstein); Voetter.¹³

ticulières, pour les pièces qui manquent dans les musées ou pour des pièces rares.

¹¹ Les légendes *Concordia Imperii* et *Perpetuitas Augg.* sont frappées pour les Césars; *Iovi Conservat.* et *Herculi Victori* pour les Augustes et les Césars.

¹² Les prénoms, titres et nom de Galère étant IMP. CAESAR C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS AVG., beaucoup de ses monnaies portent: *Imp. C. Maximianus, P.F. Aug.*

¹³ J'indique par le nom du Colonel Voetter que la pièce se trouve dans sa collection; s'il s'agit d'un ouvrage j'en donne la référence.

	VI	VI	VI
Avec	SISA	SISB	SISΓ

On trouve—

Au revers.—HERCVLI VICTORI. Avec Hercule nu debout à gauche, appuyé de la droite sur sa massue et tenant de la gauche trois pommes et une peau de lion sur le bras.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 151; FR. 8419; 10 gr. 50. [Pl. XV., No. 3.]

2. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 298, de Hercule, attribuable à Galère¹⁴ (H. MVS. V.; collection Lichtenstein); et collection Voetter.

3. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Tête analogue; pièce inédite, variété de Cohen, 106 où Hercule au revers est tourné à droite. Voetter; 26 m.m.

4. Il reste à trouver une pièce de Sévère César; en effet cette série commença à être frappée dès le 1^{er} Mai 305, ainsi que le prouve la présence de monnaies de Constantius Aug.

	VI A	VI B	VI Γ
Avec	SIS	SIS	SIS

On trouve—

Au revers.—CONCORDIA IMPERII. La Concorde debout à gauche, coiffée du modius, appuyée sur un sceptre et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit. 1.—GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 6; Voetter; 27 m.m.

¹⁴ La présence des monnaies de Maximien Hercule dans cette émission, monnaies sur lesquelles Maximien H. porte le titre de *Senior Augustus*, prouve que les autres monnaies de Maximianus ne portant pas ce titre de Senior sont des monnaies de Galère.

2. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Même tête ;
pièce inédite. Voetter.

Je n'ai rencontré qu'une seule pièce avec le signe et
l'exergue suivant—

$$\frac{|S}{SIS^*}$$

Au revers.—CONCORDIA IMPERII. Avec le type
déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FL. VAL. SEVERVS. Sa tête aurée à
droite. C'est la pièce déjà indiquée plus haut
et décrite par M. Gnechi. Musée Brera, Milan;
27 m.m.

Il est difficile de conclure de l'existence d'une seule
pièce à celle d'une série entière de monnaies. Toutefois
il est à remarquer que l'émission suivante présente la
lettre d'officine S et qu'une série peut manquer dans les
collections.

PETITS BRONZES.

Les pièces qui vont suivre sont de l'espèce du Cen-
tenionalis. Elles ont 18 à 19 millimètres de diamètre,
pèsent de 1 gr. 50 à 2 gr. 30.

Avec l'exergue $\frac{|}{SIS}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Génie à
demi-nu, debout à gauche, coiffé du modius,
tenant une patère et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—FL. VAL. SEVERVS NOB. C. Sa tête
aurée à droite. Cohen, 32; FR. 13986; 2 gr.
30; 18 m.m. [Pl. XV., No. 4.]

2. SEVERVS NOB. C. Même tête. Cohen, 33;
H. MVS. V.; Voetter.

3. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Même tête. Cohen, 84 ; H. MVS. V. ; Musée Brera ; 18 m.m. ; Voetter.
4. GAL. VAL. MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Même tête. Cohen, 86 ; H. MVS. V. ; Voetter.
5. CONSTANTIVS AVG. Avec sa tête laurée, à droite ; pièce inédite. Voetter.
6. IMP. C. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 100 ; FR. 13802 ; 1 gr. 60 ; Voetter.
7. MAXIMIANVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite ; pièce inédite. Voetter.

Ces petites pièces sont rares dans les collections ; je n'en ai pas trouvé à l'effigie de Constantin César. Mais elles ont été frappées depuis l'année 305, ainsi que le prouve la présence des pièces de Constantius.¹⁵

Les monnaies d'or suivantes peuvent se placer dans cette émission à cause des légendes qu'elles portent de Maximin César, Maximin n'ayant gardé ce titre que peu de temps au début de l'émission qui vient ensuite.

Avec l'exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SIS}}$

On trouve—

Au revers.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Avec Maximin en habit militaire debout à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un sceptre ; derrière lui deux enseignes militaires.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 144, dit son buste ; FR. 1493 ; 5 gr. 35 ; 19 m.m. Monnaie d'or du type du 60^{me} de la livre.

¹⁵ Le Colonel Voetter a donné un tableau complet de ces pièces dans : *Erste Christliche Zeichen, Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 66. La légende suivante, IMP. C. M. A. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG., désigne Maximien Hercule et fait partie d'une émission antérieure, Hercule portant seul le prénom d'Aurelius.

Au revers.—ORIENS AVGG. Le Soleil radié à demi-nu, debout à gauche, levant la droite et tenant de la main gauche un globe surmonté d'un fouet.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 136, or.

Cette pièce doit se rapporter à l'élévation des Augustes, Constance-Chlore et Galère, le 1^{er} Mai 305.

Au revers.—VIRTVS AVGG. ET CAESS. Maximin marchant à droite, trainant un barbare derrière lui et portant un trophée; à droite devant lui un barbare assis les mains liées derrière le dos et le regardant.

Au droit. 1.—MAXIMINVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 186, or; FR. 1500; 5 gr. 60; 19 m.m.

2. SEVERVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 68, or; MM. Rollin et Feuardent.

Ces deux pièces ont du être frappées pendant la courte période où Sévère fut Auguste, c'est à dire après le 25 Juillet 306 et avant sa mort en Avril ou Mai 307.

DEUXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élévation de Licinius au rang d'Auguste le 11 Novembre 308¹⁶ jusqu'à la mort de Galère le 5 Mai 311.

En effet cette émission débute avec les monnaies de Licinius le 11 Novembre 308; et d'autre part les monnaies de Galère et celles de Galérie Valérie sa femme, fille de Dioclétien, cessent de paraître après cette émission.

¹⁶ Idat. de Fast.: Decies (Maximiano) et Maximiano (Galerio). His conss. quod est Maxentio et Romulo, levatus Licinius Carnunto III Id. Nov.

Galère, qui avait créé Licinius Auguste, lui attribua la province de Pannonie¹⁷ où se trouvait l'atelier de Siscia et ce fut dès lors la politique de Licinius, fidèle lui-même à celle de Galère que reflétèrent les frappes monétaires de l'atelier de Siscia. Aussi ce fut d'abord sous le nom de Césars, seul titre que leur avait reconnu Galère, que Constantin et Maximin Daja parurent dans cette émission ; puis, à la suite des réclamations de Maximin Daja qui survinrent bientôt, puisqu'elles furent occasionnées par la nomination de Licinius Auguste, les deux Césars furent désignés comme *Filii Augustorum*.¹⁸ Galère leur avait donné à tous deux ce titre purement honorifique espérant ainsi les contenter, et les ateliers qui appartenaient tant à Galère qu'à Licinius leur attribuèrent cette dignité,¹⁹ que Constantin et Maximin refusèrent chacun de leur côté. Enfin Maximin usurpa de lui-même le titre d'Auguste et le fit savoir à Galère ; aussi ce dernier, ayant la main forcée, attribua le même rang d'Auguste à Constantin et à Maximin en Avril ou Mai 309.²⁰

¹⁷ L'Italie, la Pannonie, la Rhétie appartenaient à Sévère qui les tenait lui-même d'Hereule. Cf. Lenain de Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, t. iv., 125 ; *Anonymus Valesii*, iv. 9, dit "Huic Severo Pannoniae et Italiae Urbes et Africae contigerunt." Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, cxxix., dit de la conférence de Carnuntum : "Aderat Diocles a genero nuper accitus ut, quod ante non fecerat, præsente illo imperium Licinio daret substituto in Severi loco." Mais l'Italie avait été usurpée par Maxence.

¹⁸ Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, cxxxii., "Nuncupato igitur Licinio imperatore, Maximinus iratus nec Caesarem se nec tertio loco nominari volebat. Victus contumacia tollit Caesarum nomen et se Liciniumque Augustos appellat, Maximinum et Constantinum filios Augustorum."

¹⁹ Tel fut le cas de ceux de Siscia et de Thessalonica. Les ateliers appartenant à Constantin et à Maximin respectivement refusèrent d'émettre des monnaies avec cette appellation pour leur souverain.

²⁰ Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, cxxxii., dit que Maximin

L'atelier de Siscia frappa dès lors des monnaies aux effigies des quatre Augustes, Galère, Licinius, Maximin et Constantin. Ce sont ces frappes qui terminent cette émission. Les monnaies de bronze (folles) qui la composent oscillent entre les poids de 7 gr. 80 c. et de 6 gr. 10 c. Ce ne sont plus des folles analogues à ceux de Dioclétien comme dans l'émission précédente. Mais un premier abaissement du poids de ces monnaies a eu lieu lors de la conférence de Carnuntum au début de cette émission, et correspond à peu près sinon complètement à celui qui eut lieu dans les états de Maximin Daja vers la même époque.²¹

Avec les signes, lettres d'officines et exergues—

$\frac{\cup A}{SIS}$	$\frac{\cup B}{SIS}$	$\frac{\cup F}{SIS}$	$\frac{\cup \Delta}{SIS}$	$\frac{\cup \epsilon}{SIS}$	$\frac{\cup S}{SIS}$
------------------------	------------------------	------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------

On trouve—

Au revers.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Génie à demi-nu, debout à gauche, coiffé du modius, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur se répand et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit. 1.—MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 22 ; FR. 8788 ; 7 gr. 10 ; 25 m.m.

2. Je n'ai pas trouvé la pièce analogue de Constantin César.

3. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 26 ; FR. 9018-19-20 ; 6 gr. 35 ; 24 m.m.

et Constantin furent reconnus Augustes par Galère en même temps. J'ai déterminé l'époque de cette reconnaissance dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 218).

²¹ *Id.*, page 217.

4. MAXIMINVS FIL. AVGG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 24; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.; Voetter.
5. CONSTANTINVS FIL. AVGG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 179; FR. 9082; 6 gr. 44; 26 m.m. [Pl. XV., No. 5.] Voetter.
6. IMP. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 26; FR. 8792; 6 gr. 75; 25 m.m.; BR. MVS.
7. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 175; FR. 9083-84; 7 gr. 25; 24 m.m.; 9.085, 6 gr. .07; 26 m.m.; BR. MVS.
8. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. No. 133 de Hercule dans Cohen; doit être attribué à Galère. FR. 8895-96; 6 gr. 90; 26 m.m.; 8897-98; 7 gr. 80; 24 m.m.

Au revers.—GENIO CAESARIS. Avec le même type du revers que celui du *Genio Augusti*.

Au droit. 1. — MAXIMINVS NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 37. Voetter.

2. Je n'ai pas trouvé la pièce analogue de Constantin César.

3. CONSTANTINVS FIL. AVGG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 186 (H. MVS. V.; collection Lichtenstein); 6 gr. 40; 26 m.m.; Voetter.

4. Je n'ai pas trouvé la pièce analogue de *Maximinus fil. avgg.*

5. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite; pièce inédite; 26 m.m.; Voetter.

6. IMP. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen 135 de Hercule; attribuable à Galère. Voetter; FR.

Au revers.—VENERI VICTRICI. Vénus debout à gauche, tenant une pomme dans la main droite levée et soutenant son voile.

Au droit.—GAL. VALERIA AVG. Son buste drapé à droite, tantôt avec un diadème, tantôt avec un bandeau sur les cheveux; parfois avec un croissant posé soit sur les cheveux, soit devant le

manteau. Le colonel Voetter possède toutes les variétés de cette monnaie. FR. 8716; 8719. [Pl. XV. No. 6]; 8720.

Les pièces de Galeria Valeria sont frappées au cours de cette émission en même temps que celles de Galère (Maximianus) et cessent de l'être en même temps. Il en est de même à Antioche.²²

Des deux côtés la mort de Galère est suivie d'un abaissement du poids des monnaies de bronze et l'on ne trouve plus de pièces de Galeria Valeria parmi les monnaies de bronze de poids réduit. On trouve dans ce fait la confirmation des récits de Lactance,²³ d'après lesquels Valérie avait voulu d'abord abandonner l'héritage de Galère à Licinius, mais ne l'avait pas fait et s'était réfugiée dans les états de Maximin croyant devoir être plus en sûreté auprès de ce dernier, qui la persécuta pour d'autres raisons que Licinius. Valérie fut donc condamnée presque en même temps à l'exil par les deux empereurs et ses monnaies cessèrent d'être frappées à Siscia comme à Antioche.

TROISIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission fut frappée depuis le 5 Mai 311 et cessa de l'être au courant de l'année 312.

En effet elle commença de paraître après la mort de Galère le 5 Mai 311, car le nom de cet empereur n'est inscrit sur ses monnaies qu'avec l'épithète Divus (Galerius) dans la légende : DIVO GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANO. Elle se termina au courant de l'année 312; car l'émission suivante, qui ne présente plus de monnaies de Divus Galerius, en contient encore de Maximin Daja

²² J. Maurice, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

²³ Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, c. xxxix. et Lenain de Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv, p. 117.

qui n'ont pu être frappées que jusqu'au début de la guerre entre Licinius et Maximin en Mars ou Avril 313.²⁴

Cette émission comprend deux sortes de monnaies de bronze ou FOLLES. Les plus lourds de ces FOLLES pèsent de 5 grammes à 7 grammes 55 c. ; et ont de 25 à 26 millimètres de diamètre ; les plus légers pèsent de 4 à 5 grammes et ont de 23 à 24 millimètres de diamètre. Cet abaissement des poids des folles eut lieu au cours de l'émission et il semble qu'il y eut à peu près synchronisme entre cet abaissement des poids à Siscia dans les états de Licinius et à Antioche dans ceux de Maximin Daja.²⁵

Il dut se produire au cours et sans doute dans la seconde moitié de l'année 311.

²⁴ Licinius fut rappelé de la conférence de Milan à la fin de février par l'invasion de ses états par Maximin ; on dut suspendre la frappe des monnaies de Maximin dans ses ateliers au mois de Mars. Sur la déclaration de guerre voir : Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* xlv., *Anonymus Valesii*, v., 13.

²⁵ J'ai déjà démontré plus haut que le même synchronisme avait eu lieu pour le 1er abaissement du poids des FOLLES lors de la conférence de Carnuntum en Novembre 308 (voir mon travail sur l'atelier d'Antioche, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 226, pour l'abaissement du poids des monnaies en 311).

On peut reconnaître dans ces abaissements simultanés du poids des monnaies, dans ce parallélisme entre les émissions des mêmes espèces monétaires à Siscia et à Antioche, une preuve des nombreux échanges commerciaux qui avaient lieu entre ces deux parties de l'empire. Il en est pour les monnaies d'or de même que pour les monnaies de bronze.

J'ai eu l'occasion de démontrer un fait semblable pour les émissions des ateliers de Tarragone et de Rome. Après la prise de Rome par Maxence le 28 Octobre, 306, Rome frappa des monnaies de bronze de même poids que celles de Tarragone et lorsque Constantin reconnut le pouvoir de Maxence en 307, il fit frapper à Tarragone des monnaies analogues à celles que Maxence émettait et de même poids.

L'activité des échanges commerciaux entre Rome et Tarragone d'une part, entre Siscia et l'Orient d'autre part, est attestée par les textes, qui prouvent que les approvisionnements

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les lettres d'officines et les exergues—

<u> A</u>	<u> B</u>	<u> Γ</u>	<u> Δ</u>	<u> €</u>	<u> S</u>
SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.* — IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant le foudre de la droite et appuyé sur un sceptre. À ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 83; FR. 9039; 6 gr. 10; BR. MVS.

2. IMP. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 110; FR. 8874-76; 25 m.m. BR. MVS.

3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 286; FR. 9113; 7 gr. 55; 25 m.m. BR. MVS.

4. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 287; Voetter.

de Rome se faisaient en grande partie en Espagne sous Constantin (cf. *Cod. Theodosianus*, lib. xiii. tit. v., de *Naviculariis*, lex iv., du 8 Mars, 324; et plus tard *Symmachi epist.* lib. 10, epist. 50; cf. O. Seeck, *Mon. Hist. Germanica Antiquissima*, xxxvii., p. 309; *Cassiodore Var.* 5, 35); et les nombreuses lois qui prouvent que Constantinople s'approvisionna surtout en Égypte (cf. E. Gebhardt, *Verpflegungswesen von Rom und Constantinopel in der Späterenkaisërzeit*, Dorpat, 1881). Or à l'époque qui nous occupe Licinius était entré en possession de Byzance et de tout ce qui est en deçà de la Propontide du côté de l'Europe; et Galère avait possédé auparavant les mêmes contrées. (Cf. Lenain de Tillemont, *l. c.* iv., p. 117; Lact. *D. M. P.*, cxxxvi.) Il n'est donc pas étonnant que les monnaies des ateliers de Licinius tels que Siscia aient été frappées de même poids que celles de Maximin qui possédait l'Orient et l'Égypte afin de faciliter l'activité des échanges commerciaux entre les états des deux empereurs.

II. *Au revers*.—FORTI FORTVNAE. Avec la Fortune debout à gauche, tenant un gouvernail posé sur un globe et une corne d'abondance. À côté d'elle à droite un croissant et une étoile.

Au droit.—DIVO GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANO. Son buste voilé à droite. Cohen, 30 de Galère. FR. 8476; 4 gr. 10; 24 m.m. [Pl. XV., No. 7.]

Les mêmes pièces se rencontrent avec la lettre H dans le champ du revers. L'on a en conséquence la seconde partie suivante de cette première série.

Avec les lettres et exergues—

$\begin{array}{ c } \hline A \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ c } \hline B \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ c } \hline F \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ c } \hline \Delta \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ c } \hline \epsilon \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{ c } \hline S \\ \hline H \\ \hline \end{array}$
SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS

On trouve—

Les pièces suivantes qui viennent d'être décrites.

1. Le No. 286 de Constantin I. dans Cohen. BR. MVS.
2. Le No. 83 de Licinius. FR. 9040-41-42; 7 gr. 34; 26 m.m; BR. MVS. [Pl. XV. No. 8.]
3. Le No. 110 de Maximin. FR. 8871; 8875; BR. MVS.

Le lettre H dans le champ du revers des monnaies doit être ici la première du nom de Hercule.²⁶ L'on a vu, en effet, plus haut, que Licinius avait reçu des mains de Galère l'héritage de Sévère, qui avait péri dans sa guerre contre Maxence. Or Sévère lui-même avait reçu la pourpre des mains de Hercule le premier Mai 305, à Milan.²⁷ Il en résulte que Licinius possédait la descendance

²⁶ Cf. R. Mowat, *Combinaisons secrètes de Lettres dans les Marques monétaires de l'Empire Romain*; page 22 du tirage à part, *Revue Numismatique*, 1897.

²⁷ Eutrop., *Breviarium hist. Rom.* ix., 27. Lactant., *De Mort Pers.* cxviii. Lenain de Tillemont, t. iv., p. 52.

directe de Hercule et que l'atelier de Siscia était passé des domaines de ce dernier empereur dans les siens.

La monnaie commémorative de Galère, Cohen No. 30, fut frappée également avec les pièces de la seconde partie de cette série (collection Voetter).

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les signes, lettres et exergues—

$\frac{\text{Q} \text{A}}{\text{SIS}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \text{B}}{\text{SIS}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \text{I}}{\text{SIS}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \Delta}{\text{SIS}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \epsilon}{\text{SIS}}$	$\frac{\text{Q} \text{S}}{\text{SIS}}$
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On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Avec Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant le foudre et appuyé sur un sceptre.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. La tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite. BR. MVS. avec l'officine **S**, qui est rare ; Voetter.

2. IMP. MAXIMINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 112 ; FR. 8870 à 73 ; 4 gr. 70 ; 24 m.m. ; BR. MVS. [Pl. XV., No. 9.]

3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 284 ; FR. 9111 ; 5 gr. 5 ; 23 m.m. BR. MVS. ; 4 gr. 53 ; 23 m.m.

Les poids de cette série sont en général moins élevés que ceux de la série précédente.

Leurs légendes et leurs exergues classent également dans cette émission les pièces d'or suivantes.

Avec le signe et l'exergue suivants—

$\frac{|\text{X}}{\text{SIS}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant le foudre et un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. H. MVS. V. 25550; 5 gr. 35; 21 m.m. Cette pièce diffère du No. 89 de Cohen par le foudre.

II. *Au revers*.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une victoire sur un globe et un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. BR. MVS.

Ces pièces d'or sont de l'espèce du 60^{me} de la livre d'or qui fréquemment est indiquée sur les monnaies par le chiffre grec Ξ ; aussi Missong dans *Die Vorläufer der Werthzahl OB auf römischen Goldmünzen, Zeitschrift f. Numismatik*, vii., 1880, a-t-il cru pouvoir voir un rapport entre les deux signes grecs Ξ et X latin. Mais il semble que ce doit être le chiffre des VOTA X de Licinius que l'on frappait alors.

QUATRIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission fut frappée au cours de l'année 312 et jusqu'au début de la guerre entre Maximin et Licinius en Mars ou Avril 313. En effet elle contient des monnaies de Maximin qui n'ont pu être frappées qu'antérieurement à cette date. Elle se distingue de l'émission précédente

parce que l'atelier fonctionne avec une officine de moins.²⁸ Les *folles* de cette émission ne pèsent plus que de 3 gr. 50 c. à 4 gr. 70 c. ; elles ont en moyenne 22 m.m. de diamètre.

Avec les lettres et exergues—

$\frac{ A}{SIS}$	$\frac{ B}{SIS}$	$\frac{ T}{SIS}$	$\frac{ \Delta}{SIS}$	$\frac{ \epsilon}{SIS}$
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On trouve—

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG. N.N.

Jupiter nu ; debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une victoire sur un globe et s'appuyant sur un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.²⁹

Au droit. 1.—IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 123 ; FR. 9064 ; 4 gr. 55 ; 25 m.m. ; BR. MVS. ; également avec son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite ; FR. 14239 ; 3 gr. 60 ; 24 m.m., 14240-41 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter.

2. Même légende, avec sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 126 ; FR. 14230 ; 3 gr. 50 ; 22 m.m., 14231 ; BR. MVS.

3. IMP. MAXIMIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Variété inédite. BR. MVS. ; Voetter.

4. Même légende avec son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 127 ; FR. 14047, 14048 ; 3 gr. 80 ; 23 m.m. ; 14049. [Pl. XV., No. 10.]

²⁸ L'importance de la collection du Colonel O. Voetter permet de s'assurer de ce fait.

²⁹ Elle correspond absolument à une émission d'Antioche qui présente la même légende du revers (J. Maurice, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 227).

5. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 312 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14732-33 ; 3 gr. 55 ; 22 m.m. ; avec son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. BR. MVS. ; H. MVS. V. ; FR. 14734 ; 3 gr. 70 ; 22 m.m. ; 14736.
6. Même légende ; sa tête laurée à droite, pièce inédite. BR. MVS. ; 4 gr. 62 ; 22 m.m. ; Voetter.

C'est dans cette émission qu'il faut placer la pièce d'or suivante avec l'exergue—

|
—
SIS

Au revers.—PROFECTIO AVGG. Licinius à cheval à droite tenant une haste.

Au droit.—IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 143 ; FR. 1435 ; 5 gr. 40 ; 19 m.m. ; or.

Cette pièce doit se rapporter à un événement très important survenu en l'année 313. C'est la rencontre de Licinius et de Constantin à Milan en février 313, où fut rendu l'édit de Milan qui établissait la liberté religieuse dans l'empire ;³⁰ et où Licinius épousa Constantia, sœur de Constantin. Ce départ (Profectio)³¹ des Augustes eut lieu lorsque Constantin fut rappelé dans les Gaules et Licinius en Illyrie par des guerres menaçantes.

³⁰ Eusebii, *Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 5 ; Lenain de Tillemont, t. iv., p. 146.

³¹ J'ai décrit dans *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, p. 122, une pièce de bronze à l'effigie de Constantin datée par ses signes d'émission de la même époque et portant la légende ADVENTVS AVGG. NN., qui doit s'appliquer à cette même entrevue des deux empereurs, lesquels ne se rencontrèrent officiellement qu'à Milan.

La pièce d'or suivante avec le même exergue que la précédente se place à côté d'elle par ses légendes.

Au revers.—SECVRITAS AVGG. Licinius dans un quadrigé au pas à droite.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 156 ; H. MVS. V., 25649 ; 5 gr. 40 ; 20 m.m.

Ces deux pièces sont de l'espèce du 60^{me} de la livre d'or qui était couramment frappée dans les états de Licinius en 313, tandis que dans les états de Constantin le SOLIDUS était déjà plus fréquemment émis ; des pièces du type du 60^{me} sortaient encore des ateliers de Constantin pour être échangées contre celles de Licinius.

CINQUIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission ne contient que des monnaies de Constantin le Grand et de Licinius. Elle est donc postérieure à la guerre entre Licinius et Maximin qui fut suivie de la mort de ce dernier en Juin 313.³² Elle se termine avant l'élévation des Césars, Crispus, Licinius II et Constantin II, qui eut lieu le 1^{er} Mars 317,³³ car elle ne contient pas de monnaies des Césars. Entre ces deux époques, Avril ou Juin 313 et le 1^{er} Mars 317, l'atelier de Siscia passa des états de Licinius dans ceux de Constantin, par suite de la guerre qui eut lieu entre ces deux empereurs à la fin de l'année 314.³⁴ Cette guerre inter-

³² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 461.

³³ *Id.*, *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, p. 134.

³⁴ Lenain de Tillemont, t. iv., p. 162 ; *Zosimi historiae*, lib. ii., cap. 20.

rompit à Siscia les émissions monétaires. En effet, tandis que l'on frappait dans les ateliers situés dans les états de Constantin à Rome, à Tarragone, à Londres, des monnaies d'un certain type avec la légende *Soli Invicto Comiti Aug. N.* à la seule effigie de l'empereur dont ils dépendaient,³⁵ la contre-partie avait lieu à Thessalonica qui appartenait à Licinius, où des monnaies d'un type analogue paraissaient avec la légende *Iovi Conservatori Aug.*, frappées au nom et à l'effigie de Licinius seul.³⁶

Si l'atelier de Siscia, situé dans les états de Licinius lors de la déclaration de guerre, était resté ouvert pendant les hostilités, il eut émis des monnaies analogues à celles de Thessalonica dont il vient d'être question. Mais au contraire on ne trouve que des séries parallèles de pièces de Constantin et de Licinius sorties vers cette époque de l'atelier de Siscia. Cet atelier fut donc fermé pendant la guerre; et ce fait jette un jour nouveau sur la campagne de Constantin. Cet empereur venant d'Italie, livrant sa première bataille à Cibales, dut faire suivre à son armée la grande voie qui venant d'Aquilée traversait la Pannonie³⁷ en passant par Noviodunum et Siscia, dont l'atelier se trouva fermé par le passage des troupes ennemies dès le début des hostilités, ce qui explique la suspension des frappes de cet atelier pendant la guerre. Constantin après sa victoire de Cibales jeta un pont sur la Save³⁸ et la traversant, poursuivit Licinius en Thrace, où eut lieu la dernière bataille

³⁵ J. Maurice, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 467, et 1900, p. 287.

³⁶ La collection du colonel Voetter fournit à cet égard un ensemble de pièces des plus importants.

³⁷ Eutrope (lib. x., cap. 5) parle de combats préliminaires en Pannonie.

³⁸ *Zosimi historiae*, lib. ii., caput xix.

de cette guerre (in campo Mardienne)³⁹ entre Philippopolis et Hadrianopolis.⁴⁰

Il ne s'approcha pas de la Macédoine où l'atelier de Thessalonica, situé au sud de la province, très loin du théâtre de la guerre, n'émit que des monnaies de Licinius jusqu'au moment du traité de paix qui le livra à Constantin.

Il résulte de ces explications qu'il faut changer, ainsi que l'a déjà fait remarquer O. Seeck,⁴¹ dans le texte de l'Anonymus Valesii, v., 17 (*Misit (Licinius) legatos ad Constantinum apud Philippum*), le mot de Philippum en Philippopolis, où Constantin se trouvait avant la bataille de Mardie.

L'émission dont la description va suivre se divise en deux parties qui présentent à Siscia les mêmes séries monétaires. Mais la première partie de l'émission fut frappée avant la guerre de 314, qui débuta en Septembre de cette année ;⁴² tandis que la seconde partie est postérieure à cette guerre et ne peut être datée d'une façon certaine que du 1^{er} Janvier 315, jour de la prise en commun du consulat par Licinius et Constantin, événement qui témoigne officiellement de leur réconciliation.

Les monnaies de bronze frappées avant et après la fermeture de l'atelier pendant la guerre sont les mêmes, seulement le poids de ces pièces dut être uniformément abaissé après la guerre, l'atelier de Siscia se trouvant dès

³⁹ *Anonymus Valesii*, v., 17.

⁴⁰ *Zos. hist.*, ii., xix. ; O. Seeck a établi ce point dans *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1897, p. 161 ; *Anmerkungen*, p. 503.

⁴¹ O. Seeck, même passage.

⁴² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier de Tarragone*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1900, p. 285.

lors dans les états de Constantin, où était émis le denier de bronze du poids moyen de 3 gr. 50 c. Il serait inutile de répéter deux fois la description des mêmes pièces frappées aux deux époques successives, l'on peut considérer comme composant la seconde partie de l'émission les pièces de l'aspect et du poids moyen du denier de bronze.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les lettres d'officines et exergues—

<u> A</u>	<u> B</u>	<u> Γ</u>	<u> Δ</u>	<u> €</u>
SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS	SIS

On trouve—

Au revers.—IOVI CONSERVATORI; avec Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite; pièce inexactement décrite dans Cohen, 289; FR. 14695; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V. [Pl. XV., No. 11.]

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite; pièce inédite; Voetter.

3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite; pièce inexactement décrite dans Cohen, 288; FR. 14692; 3 gr. 60; 21 m.m.; *id.*, 14693-94.

4. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 67; FR. 14141; Musée Brera; 20 m.m.; Voetter. [Pl. XV., No. 12.]

5. Même légende. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 67. Voetter.

6. IMP. LICINIVS P. F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 73; FR. 14229; 3 gr. 45; 21 m.m.; 14137; 3 gr. 10; 20 m.m.; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.

Les N^{os}. 1, 2 et 3 de Constantin ont été frappés parallèlement avec N^{os}. 4, 5 et 6 de Licinius. Les types et les légendes au droit de ces pièces sont analogues.

La pièce d'or suivante rentre dans cette série par sa lettre dans le champ et son exergue.

Avec $\frac{\epsilon}{\text{SIS}}$

Au revers. — IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe et un sceptre; à ses pieds à droite un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit. — CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 281; FR. 1525; 4 gr. 97; 18 m.m.

On peut également ranger dans cette série par son exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SIS}}$ la pièce d'or suivante.

Au revers. — VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALL. Mars nu, le manteau flottant, marchant à droite, portant un trophée et une haste transversale, entre deux vaincus assis à ses pieds.

Au droit. — CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 702; FR. 1551; 4 gr. 37; 19 m.m. Solidus.

L'atelier devait être, quand fut frappée cette pièce, dans les mains de Constantin en 315. Le SOLIDUS était alors émis dans les états de Constantin. La légende du revers prend un sens si l'on tient compte de ce que cette pièce parut à la suite de la victoire remportée par Constantin sur Licinius, victoire due sans doute en grande partie aux légions des Gaules. Le N^o 703 de Cohen est une pièce pareille à celle qui vient d'être décrite, mais sans captifs aux pieds de Mars; FR. 1552; 4 gr. 75; 18 m.m.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les lettres d'officines et exergues—

$\frac{ A }{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$	$\frac{ B }{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$	$\frac{ F }{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$	$\frac{ \Delta }{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$	$\frac{ e }{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$
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On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Cette légende accompagnée du même type du revers que dans la série précédente.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 289. C'est le No. 1 de la série précédente; FR. 14696-14698; 3 gr. 72; 21 m.m.; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 288. C'est le No. 3 de la série précédente; Voetter.

3. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 67. C'est le No. 4 de la série précédente; FR. 14144; BR. MVS.

La pièce d'argent suivante fait partie de cette série à raison de son revers.

Avec $\frac{|\Delta|}{\cdot \text{SIS} \cdot}$

On trouve—

II. *Au revers.*—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter à demi-nu, debout à gauche, tenant une victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre, à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 65; FR. médaillon, 124. C'est la pièce du 96^{me} à la livre; pèse 3 gr. 65; 21 m.m.

SIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission fut frappée entre le 1^{er} Mars 317 et le début de 320.

En effet elle est caractérisée par l'apparition des monnaies des Césars, Crispus, Constantin II et Licinius II, dont l'élévation à ce rang eut lieu le 1^{er} Mars 317.⁴³ D'autre part on ne trouve sur les séries monétaires de cette émission ni les VOTA V des Césars ni les VOTA XV et XX des Augustes, dont la frappe commence au début de 320.⁴⁴

Les légendes des monnaies de cette émission à Siscia—*Soli Invicto Comiti* pour Constantin, *Iovi Conservatori* pour Licinius, *Principia Iuventutis* et *Claritas Reipublicae* pour les Césars—ont été frappées en même temps à Rome et dans la plupart des ateliers de l'empire. En même temps que ces légendes, l'on frappait, également ainsi que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le faire remarquer dans une étude sur l'atelier de Londres, la légende *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.* Les monnaies de bronze qui vont être décrites sont de l'espèce du denier de bronze créé par Constantin en 314 et 315 et dont le poids moyen est de 3 grammes 50 c., le diamètre de 19 à 20 m.m.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

ASIS	BSIS	TSIS	ΔSIS	ΕSIS

⁴³ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres, Num. Chron.*, 1900, pp. 134, 135.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 476.

I. *Au revers.* — SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le Soleil radié à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite, également avec le buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 530; Voetter.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 184; FR. 15813; 3 gr. 25; 20 m.m. [Pl. XV., No. 13.]

II. *Au revers.* — IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu debout à gauche, tenant une victoire sur un globe et un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit. —IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 67; FR. 14138; Voetter.

III. *Au revers.* —PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS. Le prince casqué, en habit militaire, debout à droite, appuyé sur un bouclier et tenant une haste renversée.

Au droit. 1.—CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 105; Voetter.

2. CRISPVS NOB. CAESAR. Même buste. Cohen, 106; FR. 15467; 3 gr. 25; 20 m.m. [Pl. XVI., No. 1.]

3. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Buste analogue. Pièce inédite. Voetter.

IV. *Au revers.* —CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE. Le Soleil radié, à demi-nu, debout de face, regardant à gauche, levant la droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit. — CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 50; FR. 15637; 3 gr. 50; 20 m.m.; Voetter.

Les pièces qui vont suivre avec les légendes *Victoriae* et *Vict. Laetae Princ. Perp.* ont été frappées de 320 à 324; en effet on les trouve dans toutes les séries de l'émission

qui parut de 320 à 324. J'ai démontré toutefois dans mon étude sur l'atelier de Londres qu'elles furent également frappées de 317 à 320.⁴⁵

On trouve—

V. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP., et comme type, deux victoires debout posant un bouclier sur un autel; celle qui est à gauche a écrit VOT. P.R. sur le bouclier.

Au droit. 1. — IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste cuirassé à droite avec le casque lauré. Cohen, 636; FR. 15051; au revers avec un point sur l'autel ; BR. MVS.

2. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Sur le casque à cimier des étoiles. Cohen, 637; FR. 15056. [Pl. XVI., No. 2.]

3. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste seulement. Cohen, 638; Voetter.

4. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste cuirassé à droite avec le casque lauré. Cohen, 639; FR. 15076; sur l'autel au revers , 15081; 3 gr. 2; 18 m.m.; rien sur l'autel; Voetter.

5. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAESAR. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche avec un sceptre ou une haste et un bouclier; avec la lettre  sur l'autel au revers. Inédite. Voetter.

6. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 222; FR. 15823; 3 gr. 25; 19 m.m.; BR. MVS.

7. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé, ou drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 54; FR. 14427.  sur l'autel au revers. BR. MVS.

⁴⁵ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres*, *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 138.

VI. *Au revers*.—VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Deux victoires debout, posant sur un autel un bouclier, sur lequel celle qui est placée à gauche a écrit VOT. P.R.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS - AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 569; FR. 15033, 15037; T.; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Avec **I** et **S**⁴⁶ à la face antérieure de l'autel ou rien.

2. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite avec le casque lauré. Cohen, 572; FR. 15042.

3. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 170; FR. 14314; devant l'autel **S** ou **I**; BR. MVS. [Pl. XVI., No. 3.]

4. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 140; T.

Je n'ai pas vu les pièces des autres Césars.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les signes et lettres d'exergues—

*	*	*	*	*
ASIS	BSIS	TSIS	ΔSIS	€SIS

On trouve :

I. *Au revers*.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Avec le type décrit plus haut.

Au droit.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 536; FR. 14932; 2 gr. 95; 18 m.m.; 14933.

⁴⁶ L'explication de ces lettres n'a pas encore été donnée. Il me semble qu'elles constituent sans aucun doute l'exergue de Siscia que forment les lettres S—I—S, qui se trouvent sur plusieurs pièces qui forment un sigle et qui terminent des points . .

II. *Au revers.* — CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE. Avec le type décrit plus haut avec cette légende.

Au droit. — IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. Voetter.

La pièce d'or suivante se classe dans cette émission par la légende et son exergue $\frac{1}{SIS}$; les lettres d'officines n'étaient généralement pas frappées sur les monnaies d'or.

Au revers. — SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Le Soleil radié à demi-nu debout à gauche, levant la droite et tenant de la main gauche un globe et un fouet; à ses pieds un captif assis, les mains liées derrière le dos.

Au droit. — IMP. CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Sa tête radiée à droite. Cohen, 517, or; collection de M. de Quelen; Cohen.

C'est la première apparition du titre de Maximus Augustus de Constantin, ainsi que du type de la tête radiée sur les monnaies de Siscia.

SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'apparition sur les monnaies des Vota XV de Constantin et des Vota V des Césars, c'est à dire depuis le début de l'année 320,⁴⁷ jusqu'à l'élection de Constantius II César le 8 Novembre 324. On ne trouve pas en effet de pièces à l'effigie de ce prince dans cette émission, qui comprend huit séries de monnaies avec des

⁴⁷ Cf. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 476 et seq. Les Vota V des Césars ont été frappés en même temps que les Vota XV de Constantin, c'est à dire dès l'année 320, et l'anniversaire de l'élévation des Césars tombe le 1^{er} Mars.

exergues différents. Les trois dernières séries avec les exergues $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$  $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$  et $\overline{\text{ASIS}}$ $\times$ ne présentent pas de monnaies des Licinius père et fils. Si ce fait est certain, ainsi que je le pense, il en résulte qu'elles ont été émises pendant la guerre entre Constantin et Licinius, qui déchira l'empire pendant la seconde moitié de l'année 324 et se termina par la défaite et la reddition de Licinius déchu de son rang d'empereur.⁴⁸ L'atelier de Siscia, se trouvant dans les états de Constantin, suspendit la frappe des monnaies de ses adversaires, mais continua celle de plusieurs séries de pièces de Constantin et de ses fils jusqu'à l'élévation de Constantius II César, qui marque le début d'une autre émission au 8 Novembre 324.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues suivants—

ASIS	BSIS	PSIS	ΔSIS	ESIS

On doit classer ici d'abord toutes les monnaies avec les légendes du revers :

- I. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. et
- II. VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP.

⁴⁸ La première bataille, celle d'Andrinople, est du 3 Juillet 324. Licinius passe le Bosphore. Constantin le poursuit et le bat une seconde fois à Chalcédoine le 18 Septembre 324 (O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. Berlin, 1897, pages 178 et 181).

qui ont été décrites dans l'émission précédente;⁴⁹ ensuite on trouve :

III. *Au revers.*—D. N. LICINI AVGVSTI. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 15 ; FR. 14097.

IV. *Au revers.*—D. N. LICINI MAX. AVG. Avec le même type.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 18 ; Voetter.

V. *Au revers.* — LICINI AVGVSTI. Autour des mots VOTIS XX, en trois lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Même tête. Cohen, 136 ; FR. 14249 ; 2 gr. 95 ; 19 m.m.

VI. *Au revers.* — D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 123 ; Voetter ; avec l'exergue
 |
 E SIS seulement.

VII. *Au revers.* — CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. V.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 34 ; FR. 15387 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter.

⁴⁹ Il était inutile de reproduire ici cette liste de pièces qui est exactement la même que dans l'émission précédente. De même pour les séries qui suivent je renvoie aux descriptions de l'émission précédente. Lorsque les pièces indiquées auront déjà été décrites dans cet article, je n'indiquerai plus que leurs Nos. dans Cohen, si elles y figurent.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 31 ; FR. 15595 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter.
3. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 5 ; FR. 14347 ; BR. MVS.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

					50
ASIS ·	BSIS ·	ISIS ·	ΔSIS ·	ΕSIS ·	

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.
Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 636 ; Voetter.

2. Même légende. Cohen, 637 ; FR. 15055-56 ; Voetter.

3. Même pièce, mais avec le monogramme * sur le casque. Voetter.⁵¹ [Pl. XVI., No. 4.]

Le monogramme n'apparaît sur les monnaies de Tarragone, Thessalonica, Aquilée et Trèves, qu'avec la légende *Virtus Exercit.* et les VOT. XX des Augustes⁵² de 320 à 324.

On le trouve à Siscia avec la légende *Victoriae Laetae Princ. Perp.*, qui parut dès l'année 317.

⁵⁰ Parfois un point se trouve également entre la lettre d'officine et le sigle de l'atelier, SIS.

⁵¹ Publié dans O. Voetter, *Erste Christliche Zeichen a. R. Münzen, Num. Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 68.

⁵² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Tarragone, Revue Numismatique*, 1900, p. 300.

Il n'en faudrait pas conclure que le monogramme fut frappé dès l'année 317 à Siscia. En effet la même série monétaire qui contient cette légende fut émise également de 320 à 324 et présente les VOT. XX des Augustes avec la légende *Virtus Exercit.* Il y a donc tout lieu d'admettre que le monogramme parut à Siscia en même temps que dans les autres ateliers, c'est à dire dès l'année 320. J'ai démontré dans mon étude de l'atelier de Tarragone que l'apparition du monogramme coïncidait avec une accentuation nouvelle de la politique religieuse de Constantin.⁵³

3. Même pièce avec l'empereur à cheval représenté sur le bouclier. Coll. Voetter. Madden indique dans "Christian Emblems on Coins of Constantine I" l'existence du monogramme sur cette pièce d'après plusieurs sources.⁵⁴
4. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche avec un casque à cimier, orné de points et d'étoiles. Cohen, 638 ; Voetter.
5. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 639 ; FR. 15068 ; 3 gr. 13 ; 20 m.m. ; 15069 ; 15083 ; Voetter, avec    sur l'autel au revers ; également .
6. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 173 ; Voetter ; Musée Brera.
7. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Pièce inédite. Voetter .
8. CRISPVS NOB. CAESAR. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 148 ; FR. 15510-11.

⁵³ *Id.*, p. 299.

⁵⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1877, pp. 46, 47. Parmi ces sources, Garucci, *Numism. Const.*, et Baronius, *Annales*, sont peu sûres. Tanini dans le supplément à Banduri, *Numism. Impériale*, est plus digne de confiance.

9. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 54; FR. 14426.
10. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Buste analogue. Cohen, 222; FR. 15823; Voetter.
- II. *Au revers*.—VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Avec le type déjà décrit.
- Au droit*. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 569; déjà décrit; Voetter.
2. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Cohen, 170; déjà décrit; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.; Voetter.
3. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 140; Voetter; d'après Cohen, **I** et **S** sur l'autel.
4. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 192, dit N. C. par erreur; collection M. Lalaune à Bordeaux.
- III. *Au revers*.—VIRTVS EXERCIT. Cohen, 693; déjà décrit; H. MVS. V.; présente au revers
- S | F
B SIS.

Madden⁵⁵ indique le monogramme sur cette pièce d'après Garrucci. Je ne répéterai pas, pour les séries qui vont suivre, les descriptions des monnaies qui réapparaissent dans chaque série, j'indiquerai simplement les Nos. de Cohen.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

· ASIS ·	· BSIS ·	· ISIS ·	· ΔSIS ·	· ESIS ·

⁵⁵ Madden, *loc. cit.*, *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 53, d'après Garrucci, *Num. Const.*, 2^{me} édit., p. 240; également *Revue Numismatique*, 1860, p. 85.

Parfois l'on trouve un point entre la lettre d'officine et l'exergue :

- I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.
Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 636 ; BR. MVS.

2. Cohen, 637 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter.

3. Cohen, 638 ; Voetter.

4. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. AVG. Cohen, 639 ;
Turin.

- II. *Au revers*.—VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Même type du revers.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 569 ;
FR. 15035 ; BR. MVS.

2. Même légende. Son buste cuirassé à gauche avec un casque à cimier et orné d'étoiles, tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, 570 ; FR. 15036 ; 3 gr. 10 ; 18 m.m. ; Voetter.

3. IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 572 ;
FR. 15041 ; également à l'exergue, $\frac{1}{\text{.T. SIS.}}$;
BR. MVS.

4. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Cohen, 170 ; FR. 14313,
sur l'autel  ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter.

5. IMP. LIC. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Cohen, 173 ;
FR. 14315, sur l'autel .

6. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 192, rectifié plus haut ; Voetter ; sur l'autel  et .

7. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Même buste. Cohen, 191 ; FR. 15817 ; 3 gr. 60 ; 18 m.m.

8. IVL. CRISPVS. NOB. C. Cohen, 140, déjà décrit ; Voetter.

9. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen 51; FR. 14314; Voetter. Au revers sur l'autel **I** et **S**.
10. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Même buste. Pièce inédite. Voetter. Au revers sur l'autel **I** et **S**.
- III. *Au revers*.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour de . VOTIS . V. dans le champ.
- Au droit*. 1.—LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite. Voetter.
2. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Tête analogue. Pièce inédite. Voetter.
3. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Tête analogue. Cohen, 35; Voetter.
- IV. *Au revers*.—LICINI AVGVSTI. Autour des mots VOTIS XX, en trois lignes dans le champ.
- Au droit*.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 136; Voetter.
- V. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINI AVGVSTI. Autour des mots VOTIS XX, en trois lignes dans le champ.
- Au droit*.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 86; BR. MVS.; Voetter.

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

ASIS*	BSIS*	FSIS*	ΔSIS*	ESIS*

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP.
Avec le type déjà décrit.

Les lettres **I** ou **S** se trouvent fréquemment sur les autels dans toute cette série; je ne les indique que pour les pièces sur lesquelles je les ai vues.

Au droit. 1.—IMP. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 636; FR. 15062; BR. MVS.

2. Même légende. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Variété inédite de Cohen, 636; Voetter.

3. Même légende. Cohen, 637; FR. 15054; sur le bouclier on voit un cavalier (l'empereur au galop); avec le monogramme sur le casque ✱; pièce déjà indiquée par Madden.⁵⁶ [Pl. XVI, No. 5.]

4. Même légende. Cohen, 638; Voetter.

II. *Au revers.*—VICT. LAETAE PRINC. PERP. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 569; FR. 15033-34; Voetter; sur l'autel au revers parfois [I] ou [S].

2. Même légende. Cohen, 570; déjà décrit; FR. 15035; 19 m.m.; Voetter; parfois sur l'autel au revers, [I] ou [S].

3. Même légende et même type, mais tenant une haste sans bouclier. Variété de Cohen, 570; Voetter.

4. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Cohen, 170; BR. MVS.

5. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Cohen, 140; BR. MVS.; Voetter.

6. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Pièce inédite. Voetter.

7. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 51; FR. 14424; T.; BR. MVS.

⁵⁶ Madden, *Christian Emblems on Coins of Constantine I*, *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 47. Il y a deux formes du monogramme frappées sur ces monnaies: 1° la forme ci-dessus ✱ représentée également dans Madden, *loc. cit.* pl. I, No. 1, qui semble vouloir exprimer I(ησους), X(ριστος); cf. Madden, *loc. cit.* p. 301; ensuite la forme ✱ composée du X et du P qui est le monogramme Constantinien à proprement parler et que le Colonel Voetter a déjà publié et représenté dans la *Numism. Zeitschrift*, 1892, tafel II, Nos. 73, 75; voir plus haut pl. XVI, No. 4.

III. *Au revers.* — CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. V.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Cohen 34; BR. MVS.; FR. 15388-90; 3 gr. 10; 19 m.m.; 15391-93.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 31; BR. MVS.; FR. 15596-97; 3 gr.; 18 m.m.

3. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 5; BR. MVS.; FR. 14376; 3 gr. 60; 19 m.m.; 14349.

IV. *Au revers.* — CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. X.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 38; BR. MVS.; Voetter.

2. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 44; H. MVS. V.; FR. 15409; Voetter.

V. *Au revers.* — D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 123; BR. MVS.; FR. 15532-33; Voetter.

VI. *Au revers.*—D. N. LICINI AVGVSTI. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

Au droit.—IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 15; BR. MVS.; T.; Voetter.

On trouve au revers avec les lettres et signes suivants la légende VIRTVS EXERCIT.

S		F
ASIS*		

S		F
BSIS*		

S		F
FSIS*		

S		F
ΔSIS*		

S		F
ESIS*		

$$\begin{array}{c} S | F \\ | \text{HL} \\ \hline \text{ASIS}^* \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} S | F \\ | \text{HL} \\ \hline \text{BSIS}^* \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} S | F \\ | \text{HL} \\ \hline \text{TSIS}^* \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} S | F \\ | \text{HL} \\ \hline \Delta \text{SIS}^* \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} S | F \\ | \text{HL} \\ \hline \epsilon \text{SIS}^* \end{array}$$

J'ai donné dans les *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*⁵⁷ les raisons pour lesquelles il était possible que la lettre F dans le champ du revers des monnaies put s'interpréter comme la première de l'adjectif *Flavianus* tiré du gentilice *Flavius* des empereurs; la lettre S indiquant un adjectif comme *Securitas* (Flaviana).—Quant au signe HL j'en proposerai l'explication suivante. Ce n'est pas la lettre H à cause du signe L qui y est ajouté. D'ailleurs on n'y pourrait plus voir la première lettre du nom de Ἡρακλῆς, car Maximien Hercule est mort depuis longtemps et Constantin et ses fils ne se réclament nullement de sa descendance à l'époque où nous sommes arrivés. Il semble qu'il s'agisse ici d'un chiffre grec et que ce chiffre doive s'appliquer au poids de la monnaie. On peut remarquer en effet que le chiffre X du denier, fréquent sur les pièces sorties des ateliers d'Occident, ne se retrouve pas sur les deniers de Siscia. D'autre part les chiffres les plus fréquents dans la numération du poids des monnaies à cette époque sont 2, 4, 8, 16. L'un de ces chiffres se trouve être précisément le H. Or nous savons par les *Metrologorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* que le (δηνάριον) *Constantinianum* pèse quatre *scripula* et que l'obole (ὀβολός), poids Romain de cette époque et plus petite unité monétaire Athénienne est la moitié du *scripulum*.⁵⁸ Il y en a donc 8 dans un denier

⁵⁷ *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France*, 1900, p. 99.

⁵⁸ Hulstsch, *Metrologorum Scriptorum Reliquiae, Prolegomena in Scriptores Graecos*, t. i., pp. 98, 99; Index, t. ii., δηνάριον.—*Prolegomena in Scriptores Romanos*, t. ii., p. 131.

de bronze comme ceux que nous étudions. Le chiffre H = 8 se trouve dès lors justifié sur les monnaies de Siscia. Mais il y faut ajouter le signe $\perp$ appliqué au jambage droit de H; on peut y voir simplement le signe de l'unité ou de l'obole qui est — ; dans lequel cas le crochet est une déformation ou une accentuation de l'extrémité de la barre transversale ; des déformations analogues se sont produites sur les mêmes pièces avec *Virtus Exercit.*,⁵⁹ qui ont fait voir une croix sur l'étendard du revers où elle n'existe pas. Quant à l'utilité du chiffre grec, il suffit pour la prouver de remarquer que ces monnaies avaient surtout cours en Orient et que les émissions de Siscia sont surtout parallèles à celles d'Antioche⁶⁰ et d'Alexandrie.

On trouve—

VII. *Au revers.*—VIRTUS EXERCIT. Avec un étendard au pied duquel sont deux captifs, celui de droite retournant la tête, celui de gauche ayant les mains liées derrière le dos.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 693 ; FR. 15104 ; 3 gr. 45 ; 20 m.m. ; 15123 ; BR. MVS. ; T. [Pl. XVI., No. 6.]

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Voetter. Cohen, 689, donne un revers différent.

3. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 188 ; FR. 14329 et 14331 ; BR. MVS.

4. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Inédite. Voetter.

5. Même pièce avec le monogramme $\times$ dans le champ à gauche. Voetter.

⁵⁹ Madden rapporte les témoignages des anciens auteurs à cet égard dans *Christian Emblems on Coins of Constantine I* ; *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 257 et seq.

⁶⁰ Voir plus haut pour Antioche.

VIII. Même revers mais avec VOT. X sur l'étendard.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, 166; FR. 15521; 3 gr. 15; 19 m.m.; 15522, 15523-24; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Pièce inédite. Voetter.

3. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche tenant un globe surmonté d'une victoire et un sceptre. Cohen, 246; FR. 15837, 15840; BR. MVS.; T. [Pl. XVI, No. 7.]

4. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré à gauche avec le manteau impérial, à mi-corps, tenant un globe surmonté d'une victoire. Cohen, 62; FR. 14433; BR. MVS.

5. Même légende. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche sans globe ni victoire. Pièce inédite. FR. 14434. Voetter.

IX. Même revers mais avec VOT. XX sur l'étendard, comme sur les monnaies des Augustes. Ce sont en effet les vota des Augustes qui sont frappés sur les pièces des Césars.

Au droit. 1.—LICINIVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche tenant un globe surmonté d'une victoire. Cohen, 64; le monogramme au revers ✱; Voetter.

2. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à gauche tenant une haste et un bouclier. Cohen, 169. Col. Voetter. Quelquefois dans le champ le monogramme; Cohen.

3. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite. H. MVS. V.

Constantin fit frapper les signes chrétiens comme le monogramme, sur les monnaies des Licinius dans ses ateliers de Siscia, de Thessalonica, etc., de même que Licinius fit encore inscrire les légendes païennes sur les

monnaies à l'effigie de Constantin pendant cette période de 320 à 324 où ces empereurs régnèrent ensemble et en paix.

On peut placer dans cette série à cause de son exergue et du VOT. XX qu'elle porte la pièce d'or suivante $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}^*}$

X. *Au revers*.—GAVDIVM POPVLI ROMANI. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit : SIC XX, SIC XXX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 160, rectifié ; BR. MVS.

Le SOLIDUS présente déjà le diamètre plus grand, 22 millimètres, qui distingue les pièces des dernières années du règne de Constantin.

CINQUIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les lettres d'officines, exergues, etc.—

$\begin{array}{c c} \text{S} & \text{F} \\ \hline & \text{HL} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c c} \text{S} & \text{F} \\ \hline & \text{HL} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c c} \text{S} & \text{F} \\ \hline & \text{HL} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c c} \text{S} & \text{F} \\ \hline & \text{HL} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c c} \text{S} & \text{F} \\ \hline & \text{HL} \end{array}$ ⁶¹
ASIS☼	BSIS☼	FSIS☼	ΔSIS☼	ΕSIS☼

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—VIRTVS EXERCIT. Avec le type déjà décrit et VOT. XX sur l'étendard.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 693 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 15111. [Pl. XVI., No. 8.]

2. IMP. LICINIVS AVG. Cohen, 188 ; déjà décrit ; BR. MVS.

3. Même légende. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Voetter ; déjà décrit.

⁶¹ Avec une roue à l'exergue. Je ne compte de séries dans l'émission présente qu'autant qu'il y a d'exergues différents, les lettres dans le champ et le signe ou chiffre HL pouvant donner lieu à des combinaisons diverses dans une même série.

II. Même revers, mais avec VOT. X sur l'étendard.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Cohen, 166; FR. 15522; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 246; FR. 15838-39; 3 gr. 20; 19 m.m.

3. Variété de cette pièce où le buste ne tient pas de sceptre. BR. MVS.

4. LICINIVS IVN. NOB. CAES. Cohen, 62; BR. MVS.

SIXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—



On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. X.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Cohen, 44; FR. 15408; 3 gr. 55; 18 m.m. [Pl. XVI., No. 9] à 15413; BR. MVS.; T.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 38; 15613; 15616-17-18; BR. MVS.

3. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 34; FR. 14490-91.

II. *Au revers.*—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

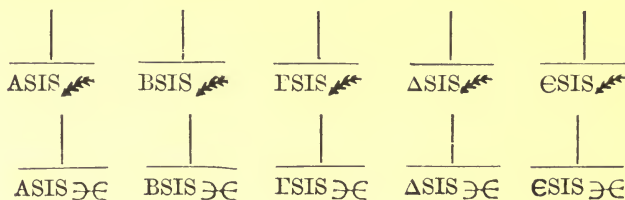
Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 123; FR. 14534; BR. MVS.

Cette série ainsi que les deux suivantes ne contient, à ma connaissance, aucune pièce des deux Licinius père et fils. De plus on n'y trouve que les VOTA X des Césars

et non leurs VOTA V. Si ces faits sont confirmés, il en résulte que ces trois dernières séries, qui contiennent de moins nombreuses sortes de monnaies que les précédentes, ont été frappées pendant la guerre entre Constantin et Licinius.

SEPTIÈME ET HUITIÈME SÉRIES.

Avec les exergues suivants qui présentent le rameau et le foudre.



On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. VOT. X
avec le type décrit.

Au droit. 1.—Constantin jeune. Cohen, 38; FR. 15615 et BR. MVS. avec le rameau; collection Voetter et FR. 15612, pièces avec le foudre.

2. Crispus. Cohen, 44; collection Voetter avec le rameau; H. MVS. V. et Voetter, pièces avec le foudre. [Pl. XVI., No. 10.]

- II. *Au revers*.—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG.
VOT. XX avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—Constantin le Grand. Cohen, 123; déjà décrit; BR. MVS. et Voetter, pièces avec le rameau; FR. 14535 et Voetter, pièces avec le foudre.

MONNAIES COMMÉMORATIVES.

De petites pièces du type du Centenionalis commémoratives des trois empereurs Claude le Gothique, Constance

Chlore père de Constantin I et Maximien Hercule père de la seconde femme de Constantin, Fausta, furent frappées dans tous les ateliers de l'empire situés dans les états de Constantin entre les deux guerres qui eurent lieu entre ce dernier et Licinius, c'est à dire de 314 et 324.⁶² Mais il est difficile de savoir à quelles années se rapportent ces frappes au cours de cette longue période. Hettner et le Colonel Voetter les ont attribuées à l'année 323.⁶³ Le Colonel Voetter y voit une sorte de position hostile prise par Constantin en face de Licinius en établissant sa descendance de Claude le Gothique avant la guerre de 324. Des analogies d'exergues avec les autres séries monétaires des émissions en cours en l'année 323 militent également en faveur de cette date, dont la détermination n'est toutefois pas absolument certaine. Néanmoins les exergues frappés à Aquilée AQS et · AQP · et à Thessalonique TSA et · TS · A · semblent fixer cette date.⁶⁴ Ce qui n'est pas douteux c'est l'intention de Constantin de s'attribuer la descendance de Maximien Hercule par sa femme et de Claude le Gothique par son père.⁶⁵

⁶² Le Colonel Voetter l'a démontré dans son travail *Ahnenmünzen Kaisers Constantins des grossen*, paru dans les *Mittheilungen des Clubs der Münz- und Medaillenfreunde in Wien*, 1895.

⁶³ T. Hettner, *Römische Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinlanden, Westd. Zeitschrift für Geschichte u. Kunst*, in Trier, 1887, Jahrg. vi., p. 119. Voetter, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ J. Maurice, *L'atelier monétaire de Rome*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 471.

⁶⁵ Un important travail de Klebs, *Das dynastische Element in der Geschichtschreibung der Röm. Kaiserzeit*, paru dans la *Hist. Zeitschrift von Sybel*, München, 1889, tome xxv., démontre que la descendance de Claude le Gothique fut déjà revendiquée par Constance Chlore père de Constantin, ainsi

Voici pour Siscia ces pièces que le Colonel Voetter a réunies pour tous les ateliers de l'empire.

Avec $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—REQVIES OPTIMORVM MERITORVM.

L'empereur assis à gauche sur une chaise curule, levant la main droite et tenant un sceptre.

Au droit. 1.—DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO PRINCIPI.

Son buste lauré et voilé à droite. Cohen, 253; Centenionalis; Voetter.

2. DIVO CLAVDIO OPTIMO. IMP. Buste analogue. Cohen, 245; Voetter.

3. DIVO MAXIMIANO SEN. FORT. IMP. Buste analogue; pièce inédite. Voetter; FR. 13647; 1 gr. 70; 0·017 m.m. [Pl. XVI., No. 11.]

II. *Au revers*.—REQVIES OPTIMOR. MERIT. Même type.

Au droit.—DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO PRINC. Sa tête voilée à droite. Cohen, 250; Voetter.

HUITIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission fut frappée depuis le 8 Novembre 324 jusqu'au milieu de l'année 326. En effet elle contient dans toutes ses séries, des monnaies de Constantius, qui fut élu César le 8 Novembre 324 et d'autres de Crispus et de Fausta,

qu'en témoigne la généalogie de la maison de Constance établie par Trebellius Pollio au commencement du règne de Constance César. Le *Panegyrique d'Eumène VII*, cap. xiii, prononcée en présence de Constantin lors de ses quinquennialia en Juillet 311, lui prête ostensiblement la descendance de Claude le Gothique. Cf. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 108 et 109.

qui périrent le premier à la fin de l'été de 326, et l'impératrice Fausta peu de temps après Crispus.⁶⁶ De plus une courte émission fut frappée en même temps ou après celle-ci et avant la mort de Crispus, dont elle renferme encore des médailles. Les monnaies de bronze de cette courte émission sont réduites au poids moyen de 2 grammes 50 centigrammes, tandis que celles de l'émission présenteront encore le poids originel du denier de bronze de Constantin, 3 grammes 50 centigrammes. Il ne fut pourtant pas créé de nouvelle espèce monétaire à cette époque, les textes n'en font aucune mention; on réduisit seulement le poids des deniers de bronze comme on avait plusieurs fois réduit celui des folles.⁶⁷ C'était une conséquence des besoins du trésor à cette époque que les espèces monétaires fussent toujours réduites de poids, après avoir eu cours un certain temps. On frappa donc encore avant la mort de Crispus, que l'on peut fixer à la fin d'Août 326,⁶⁸ une courte émission, composée de

⁶⁶ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 237.

⁶⁷ Il n'y a pour s'en convaincre qu'à examiner toutes les émissions frappées de 306 à 317.

⁶⁸ Rien n'est venu infirmer le témoignage de Zosime (*Hist. ii.*, 29) qui dit que ce fut pendant le séjour de Constantin à Rome que périt Crispus. Mais j'ai démontré dans mon étude de l'atelier d'Antioche que ce fut à la fin de ce séjour. Or la première indication de l'éloignement de Constantin de Rome est une loi du Code Théodosien, l. xvi., tit. v., lex 2, qui le montre à Spolète le 25 Septembre, 326 (cf. O. Seeck, *d. Zeitfolge d. Gesetze Constantins: Zeitschrift f. Rechtsgeschichte*, 1889, p. 236). C'est donc à la fin d'Août ou au début de Septembre qu'il faut placer la date de la mort de Crispus. Celle de Fausta suivit de près (Victor, *Epitome*, 41, 11; Zosime, 11, 29). O. Seeck donne la concordance entre la *Vita Sancti Artemii* (*Acta Sanctorum*) et l'*Epitome* de Victor (cf. O. Seeck, *Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins d. Grossen*, *Zeitschrift f. Wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1890, p. 67).

deniers de poids réduits, mais l'émission présente fut suspendue peut-être vers le mois de Juin 326.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—



On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Une porte de camp surmontée de deux tours ; au dessus une étoile.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 454 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 14790, 14792 ; Voetter. Officines A—B—F.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Avec le même type.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 120 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter. Officines A et E.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 163 ; BR. MVS. ; Voetter. Officine E.

3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 167 ; FR. 16232 ; BR. MVS. ; T. ; Voetter. Officines A et E.

III. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS REIPVBlice. La Sécurité voilée, debout à gauche, tenant un rameau baissé et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Son buste coiffé en cheveux et avec le diadème et drapé à droite, portant un collier de perles. Cohen, 12 et 13 ; FR. 13865-67. Musée Brera. Officines F—E. [Pl. XVI., No. 12.]

IV. *Au revers*.—SPES REIPVBLICAE. L'impératrice debout à gauche tenant deux enfants dans ses bras.⁶⁹

Au droit.—FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG. Son buste coiffé en cheveux et drapé à droite. Cohen, 15; FR. 15326-15328; 3 gr. 40; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officines A—B—Δ.

Les légendes *Providentiae Augg.* et *Securitas Reipublice* n'ont été frappées à Siscia sur les monnaies de Constantin et de Hélène qu'après la guerre de 324 et l'élévation de Constance II César quand l'on émit les monnaies de ce dernier prince et celles de Fausta Augusta.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
ASIS	BSIS	FSIS	ΔSIS	ESIS

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Porte de camp surmontée de deux tours; au dessus une étoile.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 454; Voetter.

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Avec le même type.

⁶⁹ Les enfants ne représentent pas ceux de Fausta, mais sont seulement l'emblème de la fécondité de l'impératrice et de l'espérance de l'empire. En effet Constant I, né en 320 ou 322, aurait bien été un jeune enfant de 324 à 326, mais Constantius II, né en 317, aurait eu 7 ans en 324 et 9 ans en 326. Il est impossible qu'on l'ait encore représenté à cette époque comme un enfant porté dans les bras de sa mère.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Cohen, 120 ; Voetter.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 163 ; FR. 15764.

3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 167 ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers.*—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Cohen, 12 et 13 ; FR. 13867.

IV. *Au revers.*—SPES REIPVBLICAE. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG. Cohen, 15 ; BR. MVS.

Les Vota XX de Constantin le Grand et les Vota X des Césars qui ont déjà été frappées de 320 à 324 se montrent encore dans cette émission dans les séries suivantes. Ces Vota ne furent en effet accomplis (*soluta*) qu'en 326 ;⁷⁰ à partir de cette date Constantin ne comptera plus que ses Vota XXX, qui sont déjà frappées antérieurement par anticipation.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

ASISQ	BSISQ	FSISQ	ΔSISQ	ESISQ

⁷⁰ En effet Constantin ne fut proclamé *Imperator* par ses troupes que le 25 Juillet 306.

Voir sur la frappe des Vota par anticipation mon article sur l'atelier de Rome ; *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 476 et 485.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG. Autour d'une couronne de laurier, dans laquelle on lit VOT. XX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 123 ; FR. 14531 ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers.*—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier, dans laquelle on lit VOT. X.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 44 ; Voetter.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Tête analogue ; Cohen, 38 ; Voetter.⁷¹

III. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 454.

IV. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 163 ; Voetter.

2. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 167 ; Voetter.

3. Je n'ai pas vu la pièce de *Crispus* ; Cohen, 120 ; qui existe certainement dans cette série.

V. *Au revers.*—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. Type déjà décrit.

⁷¹ Je n'ai pas trouvé de pièce analogue de Constantius ; peut-être n'a-t-on pas frappé les Vota sur ses monnaies à cette époque, ce prince n'ayant été César qu'en Novembre 324. On aurait pu inscrire sur ses monnaies les Vota X de ses corégents. Mais il n'y a pas de règle fixe à cet égard : parfois les empereurs portent les chiffres des Vota de leurs corégents ; parfois ils ne les portent pas.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Cohen, 12 et 13; Voetter.

VI. *Au revers.*—SPES REIPVPLICAE. Type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG. Cohen, 15; Voetter.

QUATRIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

ASIS ☺	BSIS ☺	ISIS ☺	ΔSIS ☺	ESIS ☺

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG. Couronne de laurier, VOT. XX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 123.

II. *Au revers.*—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Couronne de laurier, VOT. X.

Au droit. 1.—IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Cohen, 44; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 38; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.; FR. 15614.

III. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Type décrit.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Cohen, 454; FR. 14788, 14791; 3 gr. 31; 18 m.m.

2. CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 458; Voetter.

IV. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Type décrit.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 163; BR. MVS.; FR. 15765; Voetter.

2. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 167 ;
FR. 16231 ; 3 gr. 50 ; 18 m.m. ; 16233 ; BR.
MVS. ; Voetter. [Pl. XVI., No. 14.]

3. Crispus, No. 120 de Cohen, doit se placer ici.

V. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. Type décrit.

Au droit.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Cohen, 12 et
13 ; BR. MVS. ; FR. 13868 ; Voetter.

NEUVIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette émission, frappée pendant l'été de 326, antérieurement à la mort de Crispus, comprend un petit nombre de pièces de l'espèce du denier de bronze, mais réduites au poids de 2 grammes 50 et quelques pièces de l'espèce du Centenionalis. Postérieure probablement à la huitième émission, puisque ses deniers de bronze sont une réduction de ceux de cette émission, elle est au contraire antérieure à la mort de Crispus, dont elle contient des pièces et par suite au départ de Constantin de Rome, qui eut lieu au début de Septembre après cette mort. Le petit nombre des monnaies de cette émission fait présumer qu'elle dura peu de temps.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE—DENIERS DE BRONZE.

Les signes dans le champ du revers, quand il y en a, sont placés au dessus des noms d'empereurs, l'exergue en dessous.

On trouve—

I. Avec $\frac{\Omega}{\text{ASIS}}$

Au revers.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. En trois lignes
dans le champ.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête laurée de Constantin I
à droite. Cohen, 110 ; Voetter.

On trouve—

II. Avec l'exergue $\overline{\text{ESIS}}$

Au revers.—CRISPVS CAESAR. En deux lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Buste de Crispus lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Variété de Cohen 60; Voetter.

III. Avec le même exergue $\overline{\text{ESIS}}$

Au revers.—CONSTANTIVS CAESAR. En trois lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 20; Voetter.

IV. Avec $\overline{\text{U}} \overline{\text{ESIS}}$

Au revers.—CONSTANTINVS CAESAR. En trois lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 83; Voetter.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Pièces de l'espèce du Centenionalis avec l'étoile dans le champ et l'exergue suivant: $\overline{\text{SIS}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—CONSTANTINVS CAESAR. En trois lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Son buste lauré, ou diadémé, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 86; FR. 14655; 1 gr. 30; 16 m.m.; H. MVS. V.

II. *Au revers.*—CRISPVS CAESAR. En deux lignes dans le champ.

Au droit.—Son buste diadémé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 60; FR.

Avec l'exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}}$ on trouve la pièce d'or suivante.

III. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Victoire marchant à gauche tenant une palme et une couronne.

Au droit.—Buste diadémé de Constantin I à droite, sans légende. Cohen, 97; H. MVS. V.

Une pièce toute semblable, à part la différence d'exergue, a été frappée à Constantinople, et d'autres à Tarragone de 324 à 326, date de fermeture de l'atelier de Tarragone.

DIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

A partir du mois de Septembre 326, l'atelier de Siscia resta longtemps fermé. En effet ses frappes cessèrent avec l'apparition des dernières pièces de Crispus et de Fausta; et lorsque de nouvelles séries monétaires sortirent de ses officines, elles contenaient des monnaies de Constans I élu César le 25 Décembre 333. Pendant le temps où cet atelier était fermé, Constantinople avait été solennellement consacrée comme capitale de l'empire par les fêtes de l'inauguration le 11 Mai 330;⁷² et depuis cette

⁷² Idat. *de Fast.*: "Gallicano et Symmacho, His cons. dedicata est Constantinopolis die V Idus Maias," confirmé par le *Chronicon Paschale*, Hésych. Miles., Cassiodore, qui place cette dédicace dans la 24 année de Constantin.

Il ne faut pas confondre l'inauguration ou la dédicace de la ville avec l'époque où elle reçut le nom de Constantinopolis. Le Colonel O. Voetter a démontré que la ville portait le nom de Constantinopolis qui était frappé sur les exergues des monnaies $\frac{1}{\text{CONS}}$ depuis l'année 326 (O. Voetter, *Münzen d.*

Kaiserinnen Fausta und Helena, Numism. Gesellschaft in Wien, 24 Nov. 1897). J'ai pu même reporter à l'année 324 ce baptême de Constantinople, mais l'inauguration fut faite avec une grande solennité le 11 Mai 330 et ce fut à partir de l'inauguration que la légende Constantinopolis fut frappée avec l'effigie de la ville au droit des monnaies.

date les légendes *Urbs Roma* et *Constantinopolis* étaient frappées au droit des monnaies, comme le prouvent les émissions de Rome, d'Arles, de Trèves,⁷³ aussi ces légendes se montrent dans la première émission qui recommença à être frappée à Siscia en 333. Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont des deniers de la variété réduite à des poids ne dépassant pas 2 grammes 50 c. ; qui avait déjà été frappée en 326.

Cette dixième émission fut donc frappée entre l'élection de Constant César le 25 Décembre 333 et celle de Delmatius, élu César le 18 Décembre 335, dont les monnaies n'y paraissent pas encore.

Avec les exergues—

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
ASIS	BSIS	TSIS	ΔSIS	ΕSIS

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Deux soldats debout, casqués, chacun tenant une haste et appuyant sur un bouclier, entre eux deux enseignes militaires surmontés de drapeaux ornés de couronnes.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen,

⁷³ Cf. 1. J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Rome*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, pp. 338 et 461 et seq.

2. O. Voetter, *Erste christliche Zeichen auf römischen Münzen*.

3. *Numis. Zeitschrift*, 1892, tableau de l'atelier d'Arles; T. Hettner, *Römische Münzschatzfunde in den Rheinlanden*, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, 1888, Jahrg. vii., p. 123.

254; FR. 14623; 2 gr. 40; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officines A et B. [Pl. XVI., No. 15.]

2. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 104; BR. MVS.; FR. 16183; 2 gr. 25; 18 m.m.; Voetter. Officines A—Γ—Δ—Ε.

3. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. FR. 15690; 2 gr. 15; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS. Voetter. Officines Δ et Ε.

4. FL. CONSTANTIS BEA. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 48 de Constant I; FR. 15967; 2 gr. Officine F.

II. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, mettant le pied sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre transversal et appuyée sur un bouclier.

Au droit. — CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Buste de Constantinople ou de femme, casqué à gauche, avec le casque lauré et le manteau impérial, tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 21; FR. 15178; 2 gr. 50; 18 m.m. Voetter. Officines A et B. [Pl. XVI., No. 16.]

III. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. La Louve à gauche allaitant Romulus et Rémus et les regardant; au dessus deux étoiles.

Au droit.—VRBS ROMA. Buste de Rome à gauche avec une aigrette sur le casque et le manteau impérial. Cohen, 18; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officines A et B.⁷⁴

La pièce d'argent suivante de Constant I, élu César le 25 Décembre 333, fut probablement frappée au cours de cette émission, avec $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}}$

⁷⁴ J'ai indiqué les lettres d'officines pour la première série de cette émission, ainsi que je l'avais déjà fait pour l'émission précédente pour montrer l'attribution de certaines pièces à certaines officines.

On trouve—

IV. *Au revers*.—VICTORIA CAESARVM. Victoire marchant à gauche tenant une couronne et une palme.

Au droit.—FL. CONSTANS NOB. CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. H. MVS. V. 12999; pièce d'argent inédite, 17 millimètres de diamètre, pièce de l'espèce du 96^{me} de la livre d'argent.

Constantin intervint dans les démêlés des Goths et des Sarmates en 334.⁷⁵ Mais les légendes et le type de la Victoire furent très fréquemment frappés sans raison spéciale pendant toute la fin du règne de Constantin.

ONZIÈME ÉMISSION.

Cette dernière émission fut frappée depuis l'élévation de Delmatius César le 18 Septembre 335⁷⁶ jusqu'à la mort de Constantin le Grand survenue au mois de Mai 337.⁷⁷

En effet on trouve dans toutes ces séries des monnaies

⁷⁵ *Hieronymus*, ii., 250; *Anonymus Valesii*, 6, 32.

⁷⁶ *Idat. de Fast.*, "Constantino (id est Constantio) et Albino. His cons. tricennalia edidit Constantinus Aug. (ces fêtes étaient célébrées deux années de suite, en 335 et 336) VIII Kal. Aug. et levatus est Delmatius Caesar XIV Kal. Oct." Athanase, *Contra Arianos*, tome i, p. 782, Καίσαρα ἀνηγόρευσεν πρῶτ' καλανδῶν ὀκτωβρίων. *Anonymus Valesii*, vi, 35.

⁷⁷ *L'Épitome* de Victor dit qu'il a régné trente ans, (*Épit.* 61). Tous les auteurs le font mourir pendant les préparatifs d'une guerre contre les Perses—*Eutrope*, x, 8; *l'Anonymus Valesii*, vi, 35, disent qu'il a régné 31 ans. Il a exactement régné 30 ans et 10 mois (O. Seeck, *D. Verwandtenmorde Constantins d. Grossen*, p. 69). Le *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 286 et Eusèbe, *Vita Constantini*, i, 7-8 et iv, 63, indiquent le mois de sa mort, mois de Mai. L'année est donnée par les Fastes d'Idace, le *Chronicon Pasch.*; la chronologie de St. Jérôme. Cf. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, 337.

de Delmatius et jusqu'à la fin de l'émission on frappa les pièces de Constantin Auguste.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette émission sont de deux espèces. La plus grande est le denier de poids réduit dont il a déjà été question et qui fut frappé à Siscia jusqu'à la mort de Constantin en 337 ; la seconde est le Centenionalis, petite monnaie de bronze du poids moyen de 1 gramme 75 c. sous Constantin,⁷⁸ de 0,016 de diamètre. Suivant une règle qui semble constante à cette époque, on ne trouve pas les mêmes exergues sur des monnaies d'espèces différentes frappées à la même époque ; aussi est-il facile de distinguer le denier de poids réduit du Centenionalis.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Les monnaies de cette série sont de l'espèce du denier de bronze avec les exergues—



On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Avec le type déjà décrit dans l'émission précédente, avec deux étendards ou enseignes militaires.

Au droit. 1.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé, drapé et cuirassé à droite ou simplement drapé. Cohen, 254 ; FR. 14629 ; BR. MVS. ; H. MVS. V. ; Voetter.

⁷⁸ Le Centenionalis n'a pas échappé à la règle constante de réduction de poids des monnaies de cette époque. Sous Dioclétien et au début du règne de Constantin les poids des Centenionales oscillaient entre 2 gr. 40 et 1 gr. 10 exceptionnellement.

2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 122; FR. 15691; 2 gr. 35; 0.018 m. de diamètre.
 3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 104; FR. 16182, 16184; 2 gr. 75; 18 m.m.; BR. MVS.
 4. FL. CONSTANTIS BEA. C. Son buste lauré, drapé, ou drapé et cuirassé à droite. Voetter; BR. MVS.; variété de Cohen, 73.
 5. FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 12; BR. MVS.; Voetter; T.
- II. *Au revers*.—Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, mettant le pied sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre transversal et appuyée sur un bouclier.
- Au droit*.—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Cohen 21, déjà décrit; BR. MVS.; Voetter.
- III. *Au revers*.—Sans légende. Le type de la Louve déjà décrit avec Romulus et Rémus et deux étoiles.
- Au droit*.—VRBS ROMA. Cohen 18, déjà décrit; FR. 15237; 2 gr. 30; 15239, 2 gr. 60; BR. MVS.; Voetter. [Pl. XVI., No. 17.]

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Les monnaies de bronze de cette série sont de l'espèce du Centenionalis.

Avec les exergues—

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
ASIS	BSIS	FSIS	ΔSIS	ESIS

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers*.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Deux soldats casqués, debout, tenant chacun une haste et

appuyés sur un bouclier; entre eux une seule enseigne militaire surmontée d'un drapeau sur lequel est une couronne.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 256; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officines A et E.
2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 114; FR. 15672; 1 gr. 90; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officine E. [Pl. XVI., No. 18.]
3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 92; 16139-41; 1 gr. 20; BR. MVS.; Voetter. Officine A—B—Γ—Δ.
4. FL. CONSTANTIS BEA. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 48; FR. 15916; 1 gr. 70; 17 m.m.; 15918. Officines A—B—F—Δ.
5. FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 4; BR. MVS. Officine A.
6. FL. IVL. CONSTANS NOB. C. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. T. avec le monogramme ✱ au revers. Le Catalogue Fabretti du musée de Turin, No. 9,172, indique seulement l'exergue

$$\frac{|}{\text{SIS}}$$

Le petit bronze suivant se trouve décrit dans Tanini, supplément à Banduri, *Numism. Imp. Rom.*, p. 286, avec l'exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SIS}}$ également.

I. *Au revers.*—SECVRITAS PVBLICA. L'Euphrate à demi-nu, couché à droite, s'appuyant d'une main sur un sceptre ou aviron, à son côté gauche se dresse un roseau.

Au droit.—FL. HANNIBALLIANNO REGI. Son buste, tête nue et tourné à gauche, les épaules drapées. Vatican.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Hanniballien fut élevé à la dignité de roi de Pont par Constantin après que Delmatius fut fait César le 15 Septembre 335. Cf. Athanase, *Contra Arianos*, tome i, p. 782; *Anonymus Valesii*, vi, 35; *Idat. de Fast.*

Les pièces d'or suivantes se rangent dans cette série en raison de leur exergue et de la présence des pièces de Delmatius, avec l'exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}}$ On trouve—

II. *Au revers.*—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. Constance debout à gauche tenant un étendard et un sceptre, à droite deux enseignes militaires.

Au droit. 1.—FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 162; H. MVS. V. Solidus.

Même revers, mais le prince debout de face regardant à gauche.

2. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen 165; collection P. d'Amécourt. Solidus.

Même revers qu'au No. II.

3. FL. CONSTANTIS BEA. CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 92; FR. Solidus.

III. Même légende. Delmace debout en habit militaire, tenant une haste transversale et un globe.

Au droit.—FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 16. Solidus. M. Rollin.

Les pièces d'or frappées pendant les dernières années de Constantin ayant le diamètre de 22 millimètres, se distinguent facilement des pièces frappées pendant la plus grande partie de son règne, quoiqu'ayant le même poids moyen 4 grammes 50 c. et étant de l'espèce du SOLIDUS. C'est ce qui permet de placer les pièces suivantes dans cette émission. Avec l'exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SIS}}$

IV. *Au revers.*—VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG. Victoire assise à droite tenant un bouclier sur lequel on lit VOT. XXX; derrière elle une cuirasse et un bouclier.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 611; FR. 1543; 4 gr. 40; 0,022 m.m.

V. Même légende. Même type, mais la Victoire écrivant les VOT. XXX. sur un bouclier que lui présente un génie.

Même droit. Inédite. Musée Brera, Milan. Même diamètre.

Le même exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SIS}}$ se retrouve sur la monnaie d'argent suivante de l'espèce du 96^{me} à la livre d'argent⁸⁰ qui fut frappée à la fin du règne de Constantin, car des pièces analogues continuèrent à paraître sous les règnes des fils de Constantin.

VI. *Au revers.*—CONSTANTIVS CAESAR. Quatre enseignes militaires dans le champ.

Au droit.—FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 17; 3 gr. 68 à 3 gr. 25; FR.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE.

Avec les exergues—

ASIS*	BSIS*	ΓSIS*	ΔSIS*	ΕSIS*

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Avec une seule enseigne militaire; type qui vient d'être décrit.

⁸⁰ Pendant que ce travail était en cours, Monsieur Babelon a élucidé le problème de la détermination des espèces monétaires sous le bas empire; cf. E. Babelon, *La Siliqua, le Sou et le Denier: Journal des Savants*, Paris, février, 1901.—Le *Miliarense*, pièce d'argent étalon sous Constantin, est le 72^{me} à la livre, pesant 4 grammes 55 c. en moyenne, ayant un module de 23 à 24 millimètres. Ce n'est que sous Héraclius (610 à 614) que la 96^{me} partie de la livre deviendra le poids du *μυλιαρῆσιον* byzantin. Toutefois le 72^{me} et le 96^{me} à la livre sont frappés simultanément sous Constantin.

- Au droit.* 1.—CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé ou lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 250; BR. MVS.; H. MVS. V.; Voetter.
2. CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Cohen, 114; BR. MVS.; Voetter.
3. FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 92; 16138; Voetter.
4. FL. CONSTANTIS BEA. C. Cohen, 48; FR. 15917; BR. MVS.
5. FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Cohen, 4; FR. 15550; 1 gr. 70; 0,017 m.m. [Pl. XVI., No. 19.]

Toutes ces pièces ont déjà été décrites.

On peut ajouter à la suite de ces pièces le médaillon d'or suivant, qui en raison du type du droit avec la tête diadémée se classe parmi les médaillons frappés pendant les dernières années du règne de Constantin.

Au revers.—GLORIA CONSTANTINI AVG. Constantin casqué et en habit militaire marchant à droite, trainant un barbare par les cheveux, portant un trophée, et lançant un coup de pied à un captif barbu assis devant lui les mains liées derrière le dos et retournant la tête.

Au droit.—Tête diadémée de Constantin à droite, sans légende. Cohen, 337; FR. 80 A; 6 gr. 34; 0 025 m.m.

Les exergues ASIS* à ESIS* semblent devoir être attribués à Constantin II Auguste.

JULES MAURICE.

MISCELLANEA.

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(Continued from Vol. XIX., p. 262.)

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¹ In this identification the evidence of the cross-headed torch on S. Italian vases has surely been underrated.

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Era of Alexander the Great in Phoenicia: J. Rouvier, *R. d. Ét. Gr.*, 1899, 362 f.

² The writer seems to base a good deal of very fanciful interpretation on inaccurate or imaginative drawings of solitary specimens.

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Judaea.

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Shape of heads of Arsacidae: A. C. Haddon, *Nature*, Jan. 24th, 1901, 310.—Regal titles: Drouin, *Journ. Asiat.*, 13 (1899) 369 f.

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Shape of heads of Bactrian kings: [C. von Ujfalvy, *Arch. f. Anthropol.*, 26 (1899), 45-70, 341-371]; A. C. Haddon, *Nature*, Jan. 24th, 1901, 310.—Regal titles: E. Drouin, *Journ. Asiat.*, 13 (1899), 369 f.

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Egypt.

REGES.—TACHOS.—V struck piece, attributed (if genuine) by Maspero (*Rec. de Trav.*, 1900, p. 225) to time of Tachos' preparations against Persia (cf. Pseudo-Arist., *Oecon.*, ii., 25). *Obv.*—*Nub-nefr* ("good gold") in ordinary

³ But this is a misreading of 'Αρσάκου; see Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1900, 93, 95.

hieroglyphs. *Rev.*—The same in Saïte-Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, with the horse to r.⁴



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PTOLEMY I and II.—Coins struck at Tyre and Ptolemais : J. Rouvier, *R. d. Ét. Gr.*, 1899, 366.

ARSINOE II.—*N* and *AR* dating from 271 B.C. : Strack, *Rh. Mus.*, 55 (1900), 165.

ALEXANDRIA.—Tyche recumbent : P. Perdrizet, *B. C. H.*, 22 (1898), 601.—City goddess in attitude of prayer : W. Amelung, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1899, 12.—Pharos : Adler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1901, 203.—Aurelian and Vabalathus : P. Meyer, *Hermes*, 1898, 269.—Philip jun. as Augustus ; date of death of Trajan Decius and Aurelian : N. Vulić, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, iii., *Beibl.*, 95, 96.

Cyrenaica.

CYRENE.—Silphium : Is. Lévy, *R. Arch.*, 36 (1900), 334 f.—Ammon type : Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, 1898, 362.

Numidia.

CIRTA.—Sitt(ius) Mug(onianus) IIII vir : S. Gsell, *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. de l'Éc. Fr.*, 1898, 129, quoting *Rec. de Constantine*, 30, 310.

⁴ I have recently had an opportunity of examining this piece, which is reproduced here. Among the many objections to its genuineness I may mention that the extreme flatness of fabric is decidedly suspicious ; that the border of dots is very unsatisfactory in its treatment ; that it is difficult to understand why the same legend is given on both sides, without any sign of the authority by whom the coin was issued ; that the position of the horse to the right is, if I am rightly informed, unusual ; that similar pieces struck in *base metal* are said, on good authority, to have been offered to visitors in Egypt ; and that nearly all, if not all, the numismatists who have seen the piece have agreed in condemning it.

Islands between Africa and Sicily.

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⁵ As I have remarked (B. M. Catal. *Lycaonia*, etc., p. xlvii.) the rider is not really in the act of alighting from his horse. Celenderis, by the way, is not in Cyprus.

⁶ An entirely uncritical list.

LOIRE.—Fouilles de la L. en 1894 : M. Desnoyers, *Mém. de la Soc. arch. et hist. de l'Orléanais*, 17 (1898), 41-58 (Gr., Rom., Gallo-Rom. and Gaulish).

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CROATIA.—Narti. 30 barbarous imitations of Philip II tetradrachms. J. Brunšmid, *Viestniku Hrv. Arheol. Društva*, New Series, Yr. I., 1896, 2-13.

Mazin. Italian, Greek, and African $\mathcal{A}$: aes rude, aes sign., aes grave ; Romano-Campanian ; Salapia, Teate, Syracuse (Hiero II, &c.), Caphyae Arcad., Egypt (Ptol. VIII and X), Carthage, Numidia (Micipsa, &c.). J. Brunšmid, *ibid.* II., 1896-7, 3-42 ; IV., 1900, 1-6. Since republished in German by M. Bahrfeldt, *Der Münzfund von Mazin* (Berlin, 1901).

DALMATIA.—Škudljivac (Lesina). Coins of Pharos, Herakleia, Di . . . , Issa, and Ballaios. G. Kubitschek, *Bull. di Arch. e Stor. Dalmata*, xx. (1897), pp. 159 foll.

SAÏDA.—Trouvaille de 1863. J. Rouvier, *R. d. Et. Gr.*, 1899, 380.

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F. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Gewichtsnormen*. *N. Jahrb.* iii. (1899), 186 f.

R. J. Albrecht, Summary of Hultsch's *Gewichte des Altertums* from classical point of view, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1900, 848 f., 879 f.

Th. Mommsen, *Zum Aegypt. Münzwesen*, *Arch. f. Papyruskunde*, i. 273 f. $\Delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\eta}$ in Roman times: (1) copper dr. of 6 obols=dr. of billon tetradrachm. (2) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\delta\rho.$ =dr. of Roman denarius, which was regarded as tetradrachm, and rated at 28 or 29 obols. Other names are $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\delta\rho.$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma.$ $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\Pi\tau\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu.$ $\delta\rho.$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma.$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \Pi\tau\omicron\lambda.$ $\omicron\mu.$, &c. The old Ptolemaic dr. was roughly equated to the denarius, which, however, in both normal and effective weight was superior to the old coin. The copper "reckoning dr." of $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{10}$ of the Ptol. silver dr. was fixed first at $\frac{1}{18}\frac{1}{100}$, later at $\frac{1}{20}\frac{1}{100}$ of the denarius-tetradrachm. Denarius-tetradrachm known as quadruple $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma.$ $\delta\rho.$, also as $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho.$ When metal not stated, $\delta\rho.$ = usually dr. of billon tetradrachm. The only coined obol was the $\frac{1}{6}$ of the billon dr., = about $\frac{1}{7}$ of the denarius-dr., i.e. $\frac{1}{28}$ of the denarius itself; but in commercial language obol may also mean a money of account = $\frac{1}{6}$ of denarius-dr.

W. Christ, *Münch. Sitzber.*, 1900, 106 f. (1) Weights from Tarentum: Hemilitra (H M I A on one) of 119-116 gr. A wt. of 153 gr. with M I ? perhaps=1 nummus (cp. dextantes of Teate and Venusia), being equivalent of diobol of 1.3 gr. If $\mathcal{R} : \mathcal{A}$ as 112:1, the copper nummus would weigh 145.6 gr., which is nearly half of an uninscr. wt. of 290 gr.—(2) List of Gk. wts. in Munich Antiquarium not contained in Pernice's work—(3) Solonian reform: $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in $\text{'A}\theta.$ $\Pi\omicron\lambda.$ 10 means increase not of the weight of the coin, but of the amount of the coinage⁷). The authority of Androtion, connecting Solon's reform with the seisachtheia, preferable to that of Aristotle. The reform meant a general reduction, not increase, of weights.

C. F. Lehmann, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 636 f. Aristot. $\text{'A}\theta.$ $\Pi\omicron\lambda.$ x.: confirmation of reading $[\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau]\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \mu\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}$; the weight-talent of 63 Solonian minae; "stater" the name for double mina as unit of heavy system of Solonian norm; relation between seisachtheia and reform of standards; origin of Euboic standard; the $\Phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$; date of Pheidon. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Or.*, iii. (1899) 82 (=C. R. de l'Ac. d. Inscr., 1898, 606): Leaden weight from Syria. *Ibid.* iv. (1900), 24 f.: Five Israelite weights with inscriptions.

⁷ This would probably require $\tau\omega\nu\ \omicron\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$, to mention only one objection.

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G. F. H.

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